



Agencies 6:00 P.M.
Australia 7:55 A.M.
Belarus 6:55 P.M.
Belgium 5:55 P.M.
Canada 4:55 P.M.
Denmark 4:55 P.M.
Finland 5:55 P.M.
France 2:55 P.M.
Germany 4:55 P.M.
Great Britain 4:55 P.M.
Greece 5:55 P.M.
Ireland 5:55 P.M.

ESTABLISHED 1827

No. 31,135

PARIS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 30, 1983



Greens Take Their Seats in Parliament in Bonn

West Germany's Greens made their debut in Parliament Tuesday. At left, Dieter Drabiniok and Gert Jannsen, like most members of the ecological party, disregarded traditional dress code. Their leader, Petra Kelly, above at left, chatted with Marianne Beck-Oberdorf, also a Green, as Chancellor Helmut Kohl, right, and Rainer Barzel, both Christian Democrats, welcomed President Karl Carstens. Page 2.

New Inquest Ordered in Calvi's Death

U.K. Court Quashes Jury's Suicide Ruling



Roberto Calvi

LONDON — Three High Court judges ordered Tuesday a new inquest into the death of the fugitive Italian financier, Roberto Calvi. They quashed a British inquest jury's verdict that he had killed himself.

Mr. Calvi's family claims that he may have been murdered.

Mr. Calvi, who had close links with the Calvi bank, was found dead under a London bridge on June 18.

Three days earlier Mr. Calvi, 62, head of the failed Banco Ambrosiano, Italy's largest private banking group, had fled from Rome where he faced a four-year prison sentence for illegally smuggling \$20 million out of the country.

Britain's lord chief justice, Lord Lane, said that he had ordered the new inquest because of irregularities in the conduct of the July hearing.

The High Court decision came on the second day of an appeal by Mr. Calvi's family that the suicide verdict should be overturned because they said vital evidence had not been presented to the nine-member inquest jury.

The family's attorney, George Carman, had called the suicide verdict "a positive miscarriage of justice." He said that the coroner, Dr. David Paul, had rushed the hearing with "unseemly haste."

Mr. Calvi's son, Carlo, said in a sworn statement Monday that his father may have been murdered to silence him because the younger Calvi said his father had planned an appeal against his conviction to "name names" in multimillion-dollar financial frauds.

Sixty days before Mr. Calvi's death, Italy's central bank had asked him

Bishops Accuse Zimbabwe Army Of 'Reign of Terror,' Ask Probe

By Jay Ross
Washington Post Service

HARARE, Zimbabwe — The Catholic Church accused Zimbabwean Army troops on Tuesday of killing "hundreds and hundreds of innocent people" in a "reign of terror" in the southwestern part of the country.

The condemnation, issued as a pastoral letter by the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference, is the first public criticism of government and military actions by an independent organization since reports of army atrocities began filtering out of Matabeleland two months ago.

The letter concluded with an appeal to the government to end the "excesses" and establish a judicial commission to investigate, apportion blame and distribute compensation.

The document, signed by the country's seven bishops, also criticized widespread killings by the dissidents, whom the government claims are loyal to the opposition leader, Joshua Nkomo, who recently went into exile.

The bishops defended the government's right to use military means to maintain law and order but said that: "methods which should be firm and just have degenerated into brutality and atrocities."

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and other senior government officials have repeatedly denied the allegations, saying the army has killed only dissidents with the possible exception of a few innocent persons "caught in crossfire."

Officials have criticized the numerous foreign press reports of atrocities as sensationalism and accused the press and nongovernmental organizations of working for Mr. Nkomo's party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

Mr. Mugabe met Monday with

"We are convinced by incontrovertible evidence that many wanton atrocities and brutalities have been and are still being perpetrated. We have already forwarded such evidence to government."

The letter concluded with an appeal to the government to end the "excesses" and establish a judicial commission to investigate, apportion blame and distribute compensation.

A government official said he thought the statement would not change the situation. A prelate, however, said he was hopeful that the letter "might do some good" in ending the killings.

The statement said: "The facts point to a reign of terror caused by wanton killings, beatings, beatings, burnings and rapings. Many homes have been burned down. People in rural areas are starving, not only because of the drought, but because in some cases supplies of food have been deliberately cut off and in other cases access to food supplies has been restricted or stopped."

The church presented similar pastoral letters criticizing atrocities during the white-minority regime of Prime Minister Ian Smith. A bishop and several priests were expelled from the country under Mr. Smith.

About one-seventh of the country's 7.5-million population are Catholic, making Catholicism the largest single Christian denomination in Zimbabwe.

Mr. Mugabe met Monday with



HONG KONG CLASH — Squatters battled police on the edge of a building Tuesday in Hong Kong after

government officials tried to evict more than 250 persons living in illegal huts. Thirty-seven were injured.

EC Offers Concessions On Greek Membership

By Andriana Ierodiakonou
International Herald Tribune

ATHENS — The Commission of European Community agreed a special financial and administrative regime for Greece on Tuesday that may persuade the government of Andreas Papandreou to remain in the EC.

The EC plan, described by a commission official as "a sort of Marshall Plan for Greece," came in response to a campaign for a referendum on EC membership. In that campaign a year ago, in that Greece asked in essence for its entry terms.

Greece became the ninth member of the EC in January 1981, under the conservative New Democracy Party that lost to Mr. Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement in legislative elections in October 1981.

The Socialists called during the campaign for a referendum on EC membership. But it apparently dropped the idea after a plan to ask Mr. Papandreou, in favor of a plan to come to the EC.

There are strong indications that Mr. Papandreou, who is on an official visit to Canada, will propose that Mr. Papandreou be allowed to remain in the EC.

Diplomatic analysts have said that a Papandreou commitment to remain in the EC would also be viewed favorably by Greece's partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Greece's ties with the alliance have been strained in recent months.

By Bernard D. Nossiter
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York

After several days of occasionally heated debate on the fighting in Nicaragua, the United States has become virtually isolated in the UN Security Council in its attempts to portray the conflict as an internal Nicaraguan affair.

Such close allies of the United States as the Netherlands, Spain and Pakistan have indicated they do not accept the Reagan administration's assessment of events in Nicaragua and have indirectly reproached Washington for what they regard as a U.S.-backed effort to overthrow the Managua government.

Only Honduras and El Salvador — which are UN members but not on the Security Council — have stood firmly with the United States. The Honduran foreign minister, Edgardo Paz Barnica, said Monday that "Nicaraguans are fighting Nicaraguans on Nicaraguas."

an soil" and denounced Nicaragua as "provocative and threatening to Honduras."

El Salvador's foreign minister, Fidel Chávez Mena, told the council his government had been menaced by "a continued transfer

Sandinist reaction to guerrilla raids seems out of proportion to the military threat. Page 5.

of weapons" to Salvadoran insurgents in which Nicaragua is last link in a chain.

Britain, now presiding over the council, has not yet spoken.

France has carefully avoided an overt judgment. Bui Philippe Louet, France's deputy delegate, praised as "a remarkable speech" a Mexican plea that the "sponsors" of the Nicaraguan incursion abandon their "dangerous enterprise."

The Soviet bloc and its allies have been more blunt. Raúl Roa Kouri, Cuba's UN ambassador, compared the infiltration into Nicaragua to the Bay of Pigs episode of 1961 in which armed exiles supported by the United States sought to land in Cuba.

The organizer, financier, supplier and abettor was then, as now, the imperialist government of the United States, its Pentagon and its Central Intelligence Agency," he said.

On the council with its five permanent members — the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Britain and China — are Nicaragua, Poland, Zaire, Togo, Pakistan, Guyana, Zimbabwe, Jordan, Malta and the Netherlands.

The council was summoned to a meeting by Nicaragua last week.

Managua complained that infiltrating insurgents threaten to draw Nicaragua into a war with Honduras.

The Sandinist government has said it does not seek a council resolution but merely a forum to make known its aims.

The harsh language of the Soviet

factions of CIA backing for the anti-Sandinist forces operating principally from Honduras, the State Department has steadfastly refused to deny or confirm the U.S. involvement.

Liang Yufan of China replied that "this is the very despicable style of a superpower" to "accuse all delegations that do not agree with the mistaken policy of the United States government."

■ No U.S. Delegation
Bernard Gwertzman of The New York Times reported from Washington

Reagan administration officials have acknowledged that they were doing nothing to dispel the impression that the United States is covertly supporting the anti-Sandinist forces.

"Is it any wonder," she asked, "that the Nicaraguan people, versed as they are in recognizing tyrants, would turn increasingly against those whom they originally believed to be their liberators?"

Mrs. Kirkpatrick, some officials here say, appears to have been stung by the prevailing air of disbelief. China, Mexico, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, China, Panama and Pakistan, she described these countries as either victims or purveyors of "systematic bias, systematic lies, systematic redefinition of key po-

Reagan Sends Moscow Compromise Arms Plan

President Says Ban on Missiles Is Still His Goal

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan said Tuesday that there has been no change in the ultimate U.S. goal of eliminating all intermediate-range missiles from Europe.

Mr. Reagan sent a compromise arms proposal to Soviet negotiators in Geneva on Tuesday in hopes of breaking the deadlock on limiting medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, a senior administration official said. His proposal, outlined by Paul H. Nitze, the chief U.S. negotiator, calls for an interim agreement that falls short of Mr. Reagan's zero option to eliminate all medium-range missiles from Europe.

In Geneva, Yuli A. Kvitsinsky, the Soviet negotiator, said only as he left Tuesday's hourlong meeting, "I'm not very optimistic. Let's wait and see." Aides to Mr. Nitze refused to confirm that any new proposals had been advanced.

In an interview Tuesday with six newspaper reporters in the Oval Office, Mr. Reagan said, "We've never retreated from our position to deploy on schedule" medium-range missiles in Europe by the end of the year.

He said he would make a statement to NATO representatives at the White House on Wednesday, apparently to outline the interim proposal put on the negotiating table.

The United States made the offer to the Soviet Union at the final session in Geneva before a recess until May 17.

"We've made no change in our ultimate goal but beyond that I can't speak until tomorrow," Mr. Reagan said.

Administration officials said earlier that Mr. Reagan's new proposal would limit the number of medium-range missiles both sides have.

Mr. Reagan shrugged off statements by Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, who said Mr. Reagan was not speaking the truth in his national security address March 23 when he emphasized his basic assumptions.

Such a conclusion was suggested by Mr. Andropov's response on March 26, in which he questioned not only the sincerity of Mr. Reagan's intentions but also the rationality of his basic assumptions.

The harshness of Mr. Andropov's remarks about the president is virtually without precedent since the days of the Cold War. While the Soviet media have assailed U.S. presidents in bitter terms, top Soviet leaders have resorted extremely rarely to direct personal attacks on their U.S. counterparts.

Mr. Reagan noted the United States remains in communication with the Soviet Union and that the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)



Experts See Potential For a New Cold War

By Dusko Doder
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The bitter public exchanges recently between President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, appear to foreshadow a new and more serious crisis in U.S.-Soviet relations and the possible advent of a second Cold War.

This is the view of Soviet and foreign political observers in Moscow following Mr. Reagan's description on March 8 of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and his proposal on March 23 to base nuclear deterrence on a new anti-ballistic missile system.

There have been some curious signals in the past few days. One was the promotion of Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko to the post of first deputy prime minister.

The other involved the promotions of four senior Soviet generals, including the commander of Soviet rocket forces, Vladimir F. Tolstikov, who were given the rank of marshal.

Speculation here is that these steps mean a greater centralization of authority for what is expected to be a showdown with the United States, and to reflect the growing importance of the military.

In the past, whenever the Soviet leaders have seen themselves challenged, they have responded by concentrating on a military buildup.

They did so in the 1940s, when the United States became the first to acquire atomic weapons; they did it again after their humiliating retreat in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

On the other hand, Kremlin leaders have opted for accommodation when they saw possibilities for it. They did so after Stalin's death in 1953 and again with the advent of detente in the early 1970s. Some major problems were resolved in these periods, including the Korean War and the status of Germany.

Mr. Brezhnev's death and high-level U.S.-Soviet contacts produced an interlude of expectations here that an accommodation with the United States might be possible. Moreover, the Russians expected that this month's West German elections could produce a parliamentary majority for the Social Democrats and the Greens, the ecological party, thus possibly delaying the deployment of the new U.S. missiles.

In retrospect, it would seem that Moscow has misjudged the strength of links between the United States and Western Europe. The resounding victory of the Christian Democrats in West Germany seems also to have raised questions (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

U.S. Is Virtually Isolated in Security Council Debate on Nicaragua

By Bernard D. Nossiter
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York

After several days of occasionally heated debate on the fighting in Nicaragua, the United States has become virtually isolated in the UN Security Council in its attempts to portray the conflict as an internal Nicaraguan affair.

The organizer, financier, supplier and abettor was then, as now, the imperialist government of the United States, its Pentagon and its Central Intelligence Agency," he said.

On the council with its five permanent members — the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Britain and China — are Nicaragua, Poland, Zaire, Togo, Pakistan, Guyana, Zimbabwe, Jordan, Malta and the Netherlands.

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factions of CIA backing for the anti-Sandinist forces operating principally from Honduras, the State Department has steadfastly refused to deny or confirm the U.S. involvement.

But administration officials conceded that the pointed refusal of the administration to deny U.S. involvement had the effect of appearing to substantiate the reports.

"It is a longstanding practice of this and other administrations not to address allegations of this sort," Alan D. Romberg, a department spokesman, said Monday.

One administration official acknowledged that there was "a bit of psychological warfare here."

The United States, the official said, was interested in raising doubts in the minds of the Nicaraguan leaders about the extent of Washington's involvement in the hope that this would force the Nicaraguans to agree to stop their aid to the insurgents fighting in El Salvador.

Ghana Moderates Its Radical Politics to Save the Economy

By Jonathan C. Randal
Washington Post Service

ACCRA, Ghana — Fourteen months after seizing power with a coup to conduct a "holly war" to re-establish Ghana as one of Africa's most advanced and prosperous states, the once-radical rulers are moderating their ambitions in keeping with the country's dire economic plight.

Once the richest and most literate nation in black Africa, Ghana has been reduced to bare subsistence, the elite either disaffected or gone abroad to survive, its farmers refusing to grow cash crops in exchange for worthless money.

Jerry J. Rawlings, the country's 35-year-old military leader, and his associates on the Provisional National Defense Council are beset by problems inherited from five military and three civilian regimes and compounded by their own indecision. But it was Nigeria's deportation of hundreds of thousands of Ghanaians in January that seems to have shocked the govern-

ment into embarking on moderation.

The expulsion created sympathy in the West, and Western aid, often from nongovernmental organizations and charities, has allowed Ghana to cope. For the first time, Mr. Rawlings and his advisers began saying nice things about the West. Mr. Rawlings even criticized the local press for its anti-Western bias, a clear sign that he knew most of the aid was not coming from the Soviet bloc.

Faced with meeting the needs of the deportees from Nigeria, Mr. Rawlings has postponed or canceled many of the government's plans to nationalize all import trade and the transportation system and extend government control of private banks.

Even the International Monetary Fund, long denounced as the ultimate tool of American imperialism, has been accepted. Kwesi Botchway, the finance and economic planning secretary, returned from Washington in late February with a memorandum of understanding with the fund that could provide

\$300 million in assistance and the first serious hope of rescuing the economy.

The quarter century since Ghana's first independent leader, Kwame Nkrumah, took power from Britain in 1957 provides a textbook case of how to ruin an economy.

Along with independence came foreign exchange reserves of more than \$300 million, thanks to careful colonial husbanding of Ghana's diamonds, gold mines, timber and cocoa.

But once the inheritance was run through, Ghana's economic decline began. The currency proved increasingly vulnerable, in part because of bad management and corruption and in part because of the strong, French-backed currencies of the former French colonies that surround it.

Revolving-door governments, adding another layer of civil servants, further weakened the economy. So did special import licenses that were a boon to the few at the expense of the country.

Importing rice, corn, sugar and

other staples at the artificial exchange rate made producing them locally unprofitable. Agriculture in many cases literally went back to bush.

Mr. Rawlings, who in a fit of moral outrage seized power in 1979, only to abandon it to a corrupt civilian government after 112 days, staged the Dec. 31, 1981, coup determined to carry out a revolution to Ghana. He borrowed \$96 million from Libya for badly needed oil, but despite his enemies' accusations, he seems too much a nationalist to be taken to by Colonel Moamer Qadhafi.

Inflation last year was 116 percent by conservative official estimate, and it is soaring again under the pressure of the unskilled workers returning from Nigeria without jobs or money.

Raw materials are available only in tiny quantities. Industrial production has sunk to 10 percent of capacity. World prices for cocoa, which accounts for about 60 percent of foreign exchange earnings, continue to fall. A bloated bureaucracy swallows half to two-thirds of the government budget, which is encumbered with a growing deficit.

Industrial diamond production declined a third last year to its lowest level since independence, and gold extraction in 1982 was only a third of 1960 output. The gross national product has declined in each of the past five years, most markedly in 1982.

Once a food exporter, Ghana is now a food importer. The rains failed last year and are late in many parts of the country this year.

There is next to nothing on store shelves — no batteries, no toilet paper, no soap, no regular supply of beer, no light bulbs, no matches, no vegetables, no bread, no tires, no drugs, no textiles, no fertilizers or insecticides.

The transportation system has gone to ruin and is incapable of moving cash crops to market.

Cocoa production has reached its lowest level in generations because farmers prefer to grow subsistence crops instead of selling at artificially low prices to a government that pays in unredeemable money.

No one knows that better than Mr. Rawlings, who for overthrown President Hilla Limann in 1981 because he was about to devalue the cedi to exchange for help from the IMF and other institutions.

Mr. Botchway still refuses to value the cedi formally, but has dreamed up an elaborate backdoor devaluation involving multiple exchange rates, bonuses for exports and surcharges on imports. It is that system, to be administered by the rigorous Bank of Ghana, that the IMF tentatively has given its blessing to.

WORLD BRIEFS

Zhao Calls U.S. Ties Unimproved

BEIJING (UPI) — Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang told U.S. congressmen Tuesday that Chinese-American relations were unsatisfactory and were not improved by Secretary of State George P. Shultz's visit last month.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, leader of the 15-member delegation, later acknowledged that differences remained and said that "resolving them must be one of the highest priorities of my government."

Mr. Zhao was quoted by the Chinese news agency as saying, "The condition [of relations] has not improved after the joint communiqué issued on Aug. 17, 1982, and Secretary of State George Shultz's China visit last February." The communiqué was supposed to have eased a serious strain over the Reagan administration's support for Taiwan by pledging the United States to gradually reduce arms sales to the island.

U.K. Labor Makes Election Vows

LONDON (WP) — Britain's opposition Labor Party formally pledged Tuesday to adopt a "nuclear-free defense policy," including the immediate rejection of all cruise missiles and the closure of American bases, if the party becomes the next government.

In a "campaign document" of Labor's official positions, the party committed itself to withdrawal from the European Community and said it would adopt "a massive program" of public spending to curb unemployment.

The document envisions Britain remaining in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization but says the alliance should "develop a nuclear-free strategy." It pledges to refuse deployment of cruise missiles, order any already in place to be removed and cancel Britain's purchase of U.S. Trident submarines.

Labor is Britain's second largest party in Parliament, and although trailing the Conservatives in polls, remains a contender for recapturing a majority in the next election, which some observers feel will be held later this year.

Bulgarian Rejects Charge on Pope

ROME (UPI) — A Bulgarian official swore Tuesday that his nation's intelligence service had nothing to do with the attempt to kill Pope John Paul II and said there is conclusive evidence that the chief suspect is a liar.

The assertions were made at a news conference by Ludmil Popov, the charge d'affaires who has been running the Bulgarian Embassy in Rome since its ambassador returned home in December. He said he is certain of the innocence of Sergei Ivanov Antonov, the former Bulgarian airman chief in Rome who was arrested Nov. 25 on charges of complicity in the papal assassination plot.

The accusations against Mr. Antonov, 35, and two Bulgarian Embassy officials have been made by Mehmet Ali Agca, 24, the Turkish gunman who shot the pope May 13, 1981, and who is now serving a life sentence in an Italian prison. Mr. Antonov's lawyers said they had evidence proving that Mr. Agca lied when he allegedly told Italian investigators the shooting of the pope was planned in Mr. Antonov's apartment May 10, 1981.

U.S. Losing Saudi Poultry Trade

Riyadh (Reuters) — The U.S. agriculture secretary, John R. Block, said Tuesday that his country is being cut almost completely out of the Saudi poultry market by a price war between Brazil and European Community members.

The United States is also losing wheat sales due to European Community subsidies, he said. He said the U.S. share of the \$7-billion Saudi market for grain and poultry imports was now only about \$450 million a year. He said he would have talks with officials aimed at increasing the U.S. share of these markets.

He said he is under domestic pressure to compete in the Saudi poultry market and subsidized poultry sales were a possibility, but he had no plans to talk about such a deal during his present visit. On Monday Mr. Block announced a \$50-million credit to Egypt to buy U.S. corn and tobacco. He said he had concluded a deal made in January to sell Egypt one million tons of subsidized wheat flour. Egypt traditionally a European grain customer and Louis Dreyfus of France, a member of the EC's agriculture committee, vowed Monday to match the U.S. deal.

Soares Releases Socialist Platform

LISBON (Reuters) — Portugal's former Socialist prime minister, Mario Soares, released a list of measures Tuesday that he plans to put through if his party is elected to the April 25 general elections.

The Socialists' main goal is to secure a dialogue among the government, trade unions and employers to give Portugal's economy a chance to recover, Mr. Soares said at a meeting to announce the plan.

His plan listed 100 measures to be pushed through within three months of forming a government, including the abolition of the 17-percent wage ceiling and the revision of the law that bars private ownership of Portuguese banks and insurance companies. Feeding between the rightist parties of the coalition government has almost insured that the Socialists will win the elections.

Visits to Graves Worry Falklanders

LONDON (UPI) — Residents of the Falkland Islands are deeply concerned about Britain's decision to allow a group of Argentines to visit the graves of their war dead on the islands, officials said Tuesday.

The islands' legislative council was to meet late Tuesday to discuss the Foreign Office decision to allow the visit next month as long as it is humanitarian in nature and supervised completely by the International Committee of the Red Cross, a spokeswoman for the Falkland Islands Government Office said.

"The main thing they're really worried about is that the people coming in to visit the graves are actually the family of the soldiers who died," she said. "They're worried that the people who come are genuine and not just tourists or people who want to use the visit for propaganda."

Lebanese Reject More Concessions

BEIRUT (Combined Dispatches) — Lebanese Moslem leaders declared Tuesday that negotiations with Israel over withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon had dragged on long enough and that Lebanon could make no more concessions.

Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan and former Prime Minister Saad Salam both voiced exasperation with the talks after separate meetings with Philip C. Habib, the U.S. special envoy. Mr. Habib arrived in Beirut Monday from Israel for the latest round in the talks, which have gone on for three months. He later met with President Amin Gemayel.

An Israeli soldier was killed and two others were wounded by unknown gunmen Monday night in an ambush on a mountain road southeast of Beirut, the rightist Phalangist Voice of Lebanon radio said Tuesday.

For the Record

LONDON (Reuters) — Iranian women are to be allowed for the first time to initiate divorce proceedings without the man's consent under a new law passed by the Tehran parliament, Iranian news agency said Monday.

LONDON (Reuters) — Francis Pym, Britain's foreign secretary, will visit Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates next week, sources said Tuesday. The Foreign Office confirmed only that he was going to be arranging a MidEast visit.

ANKARA (Reuters) — A U.S. congressional delegation arrived in Ankara on Monday to assess Turkey's military needs. The delegation will leave on Thursday for Beirut, not Greece, as previously reported. Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

New Cold War Is Forecast

(Continued from Page 1) Georgia A. Andropov, a senior adviser to Mr. Andropov on U.S. affairs. But the situation has now seems to be that Mr. Reagan does not intend to walk away from those doors.

Deprived of their "European option" and increasingly uncertain about the role of anti-American forces in the West, the Russians seem here to achieve little military maneuver.

In such situations, the value of the armed forces gains added weight. Their argument is simple: that Moscow must start building a massive conventional military force if it is running out and has nowhere else to turn.

This was made clear recently by

Kohl Is Installed as Chancellor In a 271-214 Vote by Bundestag

By Henry Tanner
International Herald Tribune

BONN — Helmut Kohl took office officially as West Germany's new chancellor Tuesday at the head of a three-party coalition that won such a stunning victory in the national election on March 6 that many politicians here believe it may well stay in power for eight or more years, at least two parliamentary terms.

In a parliamentary vote Tuesday that installed him in office, Mr. Kohl received 271 votes in the Bundestag. There were 214 votes against and one abstention, for a total of 486 valid votes cast. The Bundestag, or lower house, has 498 voting members.

In addition, there are 22 nonvoting members from West Berlin, which does not participate in national elections. These members, however, have the right to take part in the election of the chancellor and the president and vice president of the chamber, and their votes are counted separately.

On Tuesday, 21 of them ex-

ercised this right, 11 voting for Mr. Kohl and 10 against.

Mr. Kohl took the oath of office immediately after the voting.

With Mr. Kohl's majority never in doubt, attention at the long opening session was focused on the 27 members of the Greens, a loose grouping of peace activists, ecologists and civil rights advocates who had won seats in the national parliament for the first time and whose informal dress and unconventional manner had created forebodings and some hostility among many members of the established political parties.

The Greens, wearing open shirts and sweaters instead of dark suits and ties, were intent on being different from the others but did nothing to disrupt the proceedings. Many of them had placed spring flowers in small pots and vases on their desks.

The Greens won what they considered their first victory Tuesday night after days of wrangling over seating arrangements to the chamber.

The established parties wanted

them to take their seats on the far left of the arena. The Greens protested that they were not leftists but represented the entire political spectrum. If they could not sit in the center, between the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats, their spokesmen declared, they would not be seated at all but would remain standing.

The Greens got support from the Social Democrats, who have been sitting on the left of the house since the founding of Parliament nearly 40 years ago and would not be pushed to the right by anyone.

The outgoing president of the chamber, Richard Stielke, eventually ruled that the Greens should be given a two-seat strip from top to bottom of the arena, in the middle between Social Democrats and Christian Democrats. This is where they sat Tuesday.

The Greens lost their bid for one of the four vice presidencies of Parliament, however.

Rainer Barzel, a veteran of Mr. Kohl's party, was overwhelmingly elected president of the chamber, with 407 votes against 83. Many opposition Social Democrats voted for him.

The opening session was presided over by Willy Brandt, the former chancellor and oldest member of Parliament.

In his brief and deliberately nonpartisan address, he called on West Germany to play an active role "for peace in Europe and the world."

Industrial nations, he said, should cut back their military spending and use the savings for a "Marshall Plan" for developing countries" to the interest of all.

He added that West German action for peace would have to take place "on the basis of existing agreements," a reference to the Western alliance. During and after the election campaign, the Christian Democrats accused the Social Democrats, and particularly Mr. Brandt, who is known to be open to some of the demands of the peace movement, of wanting to remove West Germany from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Government officials later played down the affair, saying that Miss Lincoln had learned nothing of importance. Mr. Malek was asked to leave Switzerland and has since left the country.

The attorney, Hans Wild, said Miss Lincoln, 30, was sentenced at a closed trial in Bern on March 21. Although Mr. Wild refused to announce the length of the sentence, he said it was "minimal and shows that this whole affair was simply a bagatelle, a comedy."

"The sentence will be made public shortly after a final decision on an appeal," he said.

Miss Lincoln was charged with perjury,串通犯, and was given a suspended sentence of 18 months.

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Party Chief Sees Watt as A 'Liability'

2d Strategist Suggests Official Hurt Reagan

By Jack Nelson
Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — James G. Watt, President Ronald Reagan's combative and controversial interior secretary, has been described as a "political liability" by the Republican National Committee chairman, Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., the second prominent party strategist in the last 10 days to suggest that Mr. Watt is hurting Mr. Reagan politically.

Mr. Fahrenkopf's remarks were made Monday, the same day that a group of environmental leaders stepped up their attacks on the interior secretary. Although praising Mr. Watt as a loyalist who has faithfully followed Mr. Reagan's "mandate" at the White House, Mr. Fahrenkopf, said that "if judged an asset or a liability on a scale of 10, he would be a liability today." Mr. Fahrenkopf was responding to questions at a press luncheon.

Edward J. Rollins, Mr. Reagan's assistant for political affairs, had previously said that Mr. Watt was becoming a political liability and suggested that the secretary might ultimately resign to spare the administration further damage over its controversial environmental policies.

Despite those statements and even stronger comments along similar lines made earlier by several White House aides who spoke with reporters on the condition that they not be identified, Mr. Watt has continued to enjoy the backing of Mr. Reagan.

In fact, a senior White House official, who declined to be identified, said Monday that despite the statements by Mr. Rollins and Mr. Fahrenkopf, Mr. Watt has "solid support from the president."

Describing Mr. Watt as "the strongest plus we've got among conservatives," the official said that Mr. Watt is in even "stronger shape" with Mr. Reagan because of Anne McGill Burford's recent resignation under fire from her post as administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

The administration, he said, has had enough forced resignations. "It's more important that we pull together," he said.

Despite such support, the White House on Monday pointedly dismissed Mr. Watt's policy of consulting the Republican National Committee before selecting his science advisers. Mr. Watt had said that he saw nothing wrong with seeking Republican advice in selecting scientists for his advisory board.

Asked about the Watt policy, the deputy White House press secretary, Larry M. Speakes, said: "Our basic position ... is that scientific advisory groups should call on the best scientific minds regardless of party affiliation or political persuasion."

"We would hope the departments and agencies follow the White House procedure, but it is a decision by the individual secretaries or the agency heads that make these appointments. You'll have to talk to Secretary Watt about his motives. ... I am not addressing the specific thing about Watt."

Last year, Mr. Watt's office sent the Republican committee a memorandum titled "Appointment Clearance Request" containing the names of 14 scientists being considered for appointment to the Interior Department's nonpartisan advisory committee on offshore oil leasing.

The committee returned the memorandum with four names marked "yes" and 10 marked "no." Those marked "no" were not appointed, although seven were past members of the committee who had sought reappointment.

Reagan Is Urged To Step Up Action On Pornography

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A group of conservative religious and political leaders has urged President Ronald Reagan to step up the government's enforcement effort against illegal pornography and to appoint a White House "coordinator" to oversee it.

The president, in a private 35-minute session on Monday with the group, Morality in Media, listened receptively to their complaints that pornography laws are not being enforced adequately, said Morton Blackwell, a White House aide. Mr. Blackwell said Mr. Reagan made no firm commitment regarding an anti-pornography coordinator but promised to give the suggestion serious consideration.

Mr. Reagan told the group that his administration had "identified the worst hazardous-waste sites in America — we have to do the same with the worst sources of pornography," according to Mr. Blackwell and participants in the meeting. He was quoted by participants as saying: "We must get the most from the laws already on the books."

The Rev. Morton Hill, national president of Morality in Media, said that the immediate reason for meeting with the president was the \$6-billion sex industry, which is developing at an alarming rate and at the present time is moving into cable television and the American home, so there is a critical situation here.

Behind the Reagan 'Star Wars' Addresses

He and 2 Speech Writers Aim to Stay Faithful to His 'Core Beliefs'

By Juan Williams
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — First, he called the Soviet Union the "evil empire." That is known as the "Darth Vader" speech.

Then, he talked of U.S. laser beams snatching enemy missiles from the sky. That is now called the "Star Wars" speech.

In between, President Ronald Reagan issued a statement saying that the Democratic budget proposal, approved last week by the House, is "a dagger aimed at the heart of the nation and a joy to the Kremlin."

In recent weeks the president's speeches have taken on a bellicose tone that has prompted the Soviet Union to call him a "lunatic" and House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, to charge him with resorting to the tactics of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.

"Reagan's speeches are much more ideological and attacking than any recent president's speeches," said Hendrik Hertzberg, editor of *The New Republic* and a former chief speech writer for President Jimmy Carter.

"Something like the speech to the evangelicals is not presidential; it's not something a president should say," Mr. Hertzberg added, referring to a Reagan address on March 8 to a conference of fundamentalist ministers in Orlando, Florida. "If the Russians are infinitely evil and we are infinitely good, then the logical first step is a nuclear first strike. Words like that frighten the American public and antagonize the Soviets. What good is that?"

But administration officials are pleased with the president's performance.

David R. Gergen, the White House director of communications, said Mr. Reagan "knew when he gave that speech to the evangelicals it would draw fire from the left and some sophisticated observers. The president

feels it's very important from time to time for him to talk in terms of fundamentals and base, core beliefs so that everyone can understand reality as it is seen by the White House."

Some State Department officials, however, were upset that they did not preview the address in Florida, which has been called the "Darth Vader" speech in a reference to the leader of the Empire in the film "Star Wars."

"He is not speaking for Ronald Reagan anymore," said one. "He is speaking for the United States. There is a difference."

The televised "Star Wars" speech last Wednesday was not typical of Mr. Reagan's speeches, both because it was nationally televised and because its key points were largely drafted by National Security Council staff members. Generally, presidential speeches, statements and messages are the work either of Mr. Reagan himself or of Alan Bakshian, 39, director of the six White House speech writers, and Anthony R. Dolan, 34, Mr. Reagan's chief speech writer.

Mr. Dolan, winner of the 1978 Pulitzer Prize for investigative reporting on organized crime in Stamford, Connecticut, joined the Reagan campaign in 1980. He is the brother of Terry Dolan, chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

Mr. Dolan talked of being inspired by Mr. Reagan.

"The president is amazing," he said. "He is a gifted writer, gifted editor."

Mr. Bakshian was brought into the White House after Mr. Dolan, but given the chief speech writer's job because he is more experienced at speech writing and because key White House aides consider him more moderate.

Mr. Bakshian is known as a fast, smooth writer and worked for presidents Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford from 1972 to 1975. He raves about the president as an easy

politician to write for because "he has clear values."

"He didn't decide he wanted to be president and then blow with changing currents to get there," Mr. Bakshian said.

While Mr. Bakshian makes sure the speeches get out on time and fit Mr. Reagan, Mr. Dolan brings the heat of conservative conviction to his speech writing.

Mr. Dolan is the hard-line conservative writer, the author of the speech to the evangelicals, although he argued that he cannot be classified so easily. He pointed out that he wrote the 1982 State of the Union address and others not known for hawkish, rightist language.

But his colleagues say he is to Mr. Reagan what Patrick J. Buchanan was to Mr. Nixon. One likened Mr. Dolan to "the wild-eyed, mean dog you use when you don't want them wondering what you said."

According to sources, Mr. Reagan toned down the speech to the evangelicals from the draft Mr. Dolan had submitted.

While working on a 1981 speech on the so-called New Federalism, Mr. Dolan said, he told the president he was going to write that New Federalism would "foster creativity" by returning funds to state and local governments. Mr. Reagan shook his head.

"He said the federal government won't foster, it would permit," said Mr. Dolan. "That is a profound conservative insight."

He added: "The point the president was making is that government should stay out of people's lives for any reason but to manage the currency and the military."

Besides the speech writing shop, the added factor in any Reagan speech is Mr. Reagan himself. He takes a major part in preparing speeches to be delivered to large audiences. He wrote most of his inaugural address and took a hand in the Orlando speech and the final paragraphs of last week's missile defense speech.

Symposium at Three Mile Island Offers Little Solace Over Danger

By William Robbins
New York Times Service

MIDDLETON, Pennsylvania

— The cooling towers of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant were a brooding presence as about 200 people gathered for a scientific symposium on the fourth anniversary of the country's worst nuclear accident.

It was there at 4 A.M. on March 28, 1979, that a pressure relief valve of the reactor for the plant stuck open spouting radioactive steam into the atmosphere. The accident created a cloud of fear for many in the area that the intervening years have not dispelled.

Most attending the three-day symposium, which presented international panels of scientists, were from the surrounding area. If they were looking for reassurance on effects of the low-level radiation that escaped from the plant that day, they were getting little Monday.

"There is no safe level of radiation," said Karl Z. Morgan of Appalachian State University, one of the physicists in the Manhattan Project, which developed the atom bomb.

"There is no threshold" for some forms of genetic damage that can be caused by radiation, "even down in the background level," said Dr. Arthur Upson, professor and chairman of the Institute of Environmental Medicine at New York University.

The concerns of most of the audience seemed to be summed up by a questioner. "Is it safe to plant a garden, to eat the vegetation and drink the water?" she asked. Summing up the answers she seemed to be getting, she said: "I think the answer was there is no answer."

That view, of course, was not unanimous. David Miller, a health physicist for Pennsylvania Power and Light Co., commented later: "I think background levels of radiation are generally regarded as safe."

Some of the liveliest moments came in protests at Mr. Miller's presence on the program. "I didn't come here to hear the same old propaganda from the nuclear power industry," a member of the audience said.

Besides the technical tasks, he said, "the toughest job is maintaining and improving the credibility of the company."

Part of that job is pursued by the workers. About 750 are engaged in the cleanup. The rest are engaged in repairs and modifications aimed at restarting the No. 1 Unit, a twin of the damaged reactor, which has been idle since the accident. No. 1 had been shut down for routine maintenance at the time. Though undamaged, it was kept idle by orders of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

An indefinite delay in restarting it has been imposed by the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, which has held that a survey must first be conducted to take into account the possible stress that might result among area residents. That ruling has been appealed to the Supreme Court.

Chinese Defector Makes TV Plea

United Press International

NEW YORK — Hu Na, the Chinese tennis star who for eight months has been asking for political asylum in the United States, took her plea to the American people in her first national television appearance.

In an interview on a television news program Monday, she said she decided to defect because she was asked to join the Chinese Communist Party and feared getting involved in party faction battles.

"I felt that for my personal security I would want to stay in the United States," said Miss Hu, 19, speaking from San Francisco through an interpreter.

U.S. Court to Decide Disputed Labor Right

By Linda Greenhouse
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court has agreed to decide whether U.S. labor law protects an employee against dismissal for asserting a right provided for in a labor contract.

The question has been the subject of a long-running dispute between the National Labor Relations Board and several U.S. appeals courts.

The labor board holds that an employee who invokes a contractual right, such as a guarantee of safe working conditions, is engaging in "protected" activity under the National Labor Relations Act. Section 7 of the act gives workers the right to organize and join unions and to "engage in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining."

In the labor board's view, an employee who asserts a contractual right is protected under that section against reprisal even if the employee is acting alone and not technically in "concert" with other workers.

The board ordered the reinstatement of a Detroit truck driver who was dismissed after he refused to drive a truck with defective brakes.

The driver was covered by a contract between the Teamsters union and the employer, City Disposal Systems, Inc., that provided that the employer "shall not require employees to take out on the streets or highways any vehicle that is not in safe operating condition."

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit refused to enforce the board's reinstatement order.

However, the court said that the driver's refusal to drive the truck was not "concerted" action because it was acted on his own.

In its Supreme Court appeal,

the labor board said that the appeals court had adopted an "unduly literal" and "wooden" interpretation of the statute's use of the word "concerted."

"The board has long held," its brief said, "that an individual's assertion of a right embodied in a collective bargaining agreement is concerted activity within the meaning of Section 7, because the individual's efforts affect the right of all employees in the unit." The employer, in its brief, said the court of appeals was correct and that "it strains the language and historical

construction of Section 7 to suggest that an individual employee's flatly refusing to perform assigned work and going home without more constitutes concerted activity."

Ivory Coast Fires Set Back Farming

Reuters

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast — Fires have destroyed 250,000 hectares (617,500 acres) of cocoa and coffee plantations, equivalent to about 60 percent of the Ivory Coast's agricultural production, the forestry minister, Christian Zagoé, said in a speech published Tuesday.

Mr. Zagoé, in a speech given last weekend in the northern city of Korhogo, also said 400,000 hectares of forest had been destroyed. Timber accounts for 15 percent of the Ivory Coast's export revenue. The country is the world's leading cocoa producer and the third producer of coffee after Brazil and Colombia.

Mr. Zagoé said the fires were caused by a drought and a dry seasonal wind from the Sahara.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Farm-Wars Scenarios

If sufficiently mishandled, the farmers' trade war between the United States and the European Community can do real damage to both. A competition in subsidies would cost a great deal of money at a highly inconvenient time. Beyond that, unfortunately, trade quarrels have a way of generating a kind of bad temper that spills over into larger concerns like, for example, engineering an international economic recovery.

This time the United States is right. The Common Market is mismanaging its farm policy in a way that badly disrupts other countries' markets. The issue is once again export subsidies to get rid of those huge and embarrassing agricultural surpluses. If the Europeans were dealing with an unexpected and temporary fluctuation of output, American protests would be less vehement. But the impression is that the Europeans regard their subsidized exports as an acceptable long-term solution to a steadily worsening imbalance.

The international trade rules say that it is all right to expand your share of the world market. They also say that it is all right to subsidize your exports. But they go on to say that you must not do both. You are not permitted to use subsidies to take a larger share of the market, at the expense of other countries' exports. That is what the Common Market has been doing, but the rules are not being con-

fused. The United States, like every other government, subsidizes its farmers in many ways. But, over the past decade, it has not generally subsidized its exports. The recent sale of subsidized American wheat flour to Egypt was a deliberate warning to the Common Market of what may lie ahead if a sensible compromise cannot be arranged.

In both Western Europe and the United States, the extraordinary technology of modern agriculture is producing more than farmers can sell. In the United States, the Agriculture Department is again paying farmers to take land out of production. In Europe, the politics of overproduction is much more delicate. The Common Market is built on a series of understandings between France and West Germany; the larger market was supposed to benefit German industry in particular, and the compensation for it was to be high price supports for European — i.e., French — agriculture. The thing has now gotten out of hand, but in the politics of the Common Market it is always easier to keep paying the farmers to produce, and then pay again to dispose of the stuff somewhere else.

It is hard to believe that human imagination cannot find a solution that serves even European interests less badly than a future of perpetually widening subsidy disputes.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

A Convenient Culprit?

President Ronald Reagan said recently that he had not yet thought about whether to reappoint or replace Paul Volcker when his term as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board expires in August. This is probably the most important appointment decision Mr. Reagan still faces in his term. It is time to think about it, and here is how:

The Fed's chairman has enormous authority over America's economy and currency, and thus over world economic conditions. His office manages the nation's money supply, largely by buying and selling government securities and by regulating bank reserves; it expands the money supply when the economy is slack and cuts it back when inflation threatens. Its monetary policies can be more flexible than Congress's slow legislation of tax and spending policies, and they can be above politics, since board members are not elected.

Indeed, the United States's central bank is nominally independent of the administration of the day. But it has to adjust to a president's strategies and usually does.

Most recent chairman of the Fed have been skillful leaders of the board and effective diplomats in coaxing action out of the Bank of England or the West German Bundesbank — to bail out Mexico by sundown, for example.

Presidents, understandably, worry about the compatibility of a Fed chairman, usually inherited from another administration. They wonder if he can be counted on to wield his exceptional power in politically desirable ways. But it is more important that they first

ask whether he can be trusted professionally. Mr. Volcker has met these tests as well as any likely replacement, but Mr. Reagan may nonetheless see profit in making a change. In the public's eye, Mr. Volcker has been uniquely responsible for the high interest rates that prolonged the recession. Although the administration explicitly endorsed his policies, and contributed at least as much to keeping interest rates high, it may be tempted to make him the scapegoat and claim for itself his success in driving down inflation.

With hindsight, it is clear that the Fed did pursue its restrictive course too long and too hard, but it has now reversed course. If interest rates hang high and choke the recovery, the basic fault will be the reckless budget deficits projected by the administration. But Mr. Volcker would be a convenient culprit, all the more so because some Reagan people do not like hearing how smart he has been in saving the country from even worse consequences.

Mr. Volcker has acquired a stature and experience that justify reappointment. But if he is to be replaced, the decision ought to be made well before August and before the shape of the 1984 election-year economy is known; anything that looks like a political invasion of the Fed could alarm financial markets.

And any replacement will need to be a person with impressive credentials, neither a strict, tight-money monetarist nor a loose relativist. The president will have to move with care, so it is time to get moving.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

On Grain and Hunger

The good news from the prairies this year is that one-third of American crop land is to be taken out of production. There is no market for the grain. Food for the silos, however, is not fodder for the anti-American lobby in Britain or elsewhere. The capitalist system happens to be very good at producing food. Among developed countries it is the communist ones which go short.

In the areas of the world where starvation looms it is usually regimes which get in the way of assistance, by bureaucracy, complacency, or simply fighting civil wars. There is no effective machinery for transferring the 140 million tons of grain in American silos into the stomachs of the starving, and although some of the blame for that must lie in a donor's failure of imagination, as much lies in the torpor or corruption of regimes which are not responsible to their people.

— The Guardian (London).

An Asian Voice on Arms

ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] foreign ministers meeting here last week came up with an important suggestion that has not received the attention it deserves. They wanted China to participate in the talks in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union about the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons in Europe.

The predictable situation is that Moscow will agree to remove some of the SS-20 missiles from Eastern Europe — nobody yet knows how many. But they have to put them somewhere because millions of rubles are involved in their production. If they are taken

away from Eastern Europe, most experts agree, their logical re-location will be in Siberia, threatening China and Japan.

It is this irrefutable logic that has made the ASEAN foreign ministers come up with the sensible suggestion that China should take part in it. It is fine if the two superpowers get together and decide the future of the balance of power in Europe, but if Asia is involved through the excessive number of SS-20 missiles in Siberia there should be an Asian voice in the talks.

Japan is economically the most powerful nation in Asia, but she has no military muscle and has shied away from military talks. China comes to the forefront because she has an arsenal of nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them.

— The Nation Review (Bangkok).

With Strings Attached

If more U.S. military aid must go into El Salvador, it is better that it be sent with strings attached. That is why the efforts by several congressional committees to impose conditions on the extra money that President Ronald Reagan wants to send the Salvadorean forces are necessary and important.

Congress must keep pressure on the Salvadorean to improve their human-rights situation; there are no signs that pressure from the administration alone makes much difference. Of the several conditions attached to the administration's aid request, the most important is the requirement that the administration take the initiative to bring about unconditional discussions between the Salvadorean government and the rebels fighting in overthrow it.

— The Los Angeles Times.

FROM OUR MARCH 30 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1908: First Drive to Jerusalem

WASHINGTON — Following President Franklin D. Roosevelt's executive order reducing the salary of all civilian employees of the government by 15 percent until the end of the present fiscal year, June 30, the House today passed the emergency employment bill for recruiting a reforestation army of 250,000 from the nation's jobless. Passage came after an amendment, offered by Oscar de Priest, a Negro Republican congressman of Chicago, stipulating that none shall be barred because of race, color, creed or criminal records, was accepted, by a 179-71 vote. The pay-cut order followed the finding that the cost of living had dropped 28 percent since 1928.

1933: A U.S. Jobs Bill Passes

WASHINGTON — Mr. and Mrs. Charles Glidden, who set another record in the course of their world's automobile tour by being the first persons to drive an automobile into Jerusalem, have since been touring the Holy Land. Permission to drive the automobile in the country had first to be obtained from the sultan. They have driven nearly 500 miles, and their itinerary includes Haifa, Jaffa, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jericho, Jordan, the Dead Sea and the Mount of Olives. Mr. Glidden describes the roads as stony and muddy with gradients up to 20 percent. Mr. Glidden had, up to March 19, covered 43,367 miles, visited 37 countries and been on the road 350 days.

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International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92200 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. Telephone: 747-1265. Telex 612718 (Herald). Cable: Herald Paris.

Directeur de la publication: Walter N. Thayer.

Gen. Mgr Asst: Alan Lecour, 24-34 Hennessy Rd, Hong Kong. Tel. 3-285618. Telex 61170.

S.A. au capital de 1,200,000 F. RCS Nanterre B 732021/24. Capitalisation Particulière No. 34231.

U.S. subscription: \$236 yearly. Second-class postage paid at Long Island City, N.Y. 11101.

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Spotting the Leaks in Reagan's Nuclear Umbrella

By Robert E. Hunter

WASHINGTON — In his recent address, President Ronald Reagan put his finger on the central dilemma of the nuclear age: "I have become more and more deeply convinced," he said, "that the human spirit must be capable of rising above dealing with other nations and human beings by threatening their existence." Yet his solution, the development of advanced weapons to shoot down Soviet warheads hurtling toward the United States and its allies, fails to meet his own test.

Bad nuclear doctrine, like a bad penny, has a habit of coming back. What the president has proposed is little more than an extension of proposals made way back in the 1960s to build anti-ballistic missiles to protect American cities and Minuteman missiles from Soviet attack.

After prolonged debate, it was recognized that this idea would cause more problems than it would solve, and it was scrapped. The Russians apparently reached the same conclusion, and the result was the ABM Treaty of 1972, the most successful arms-control agreement ever concluded, which severely limits deployment of such weapons.

Roosevelt's basic decision that the country should get a bomb if it could was made Oct. 9, 1941 (not in 1939 when Einstein wrote his famous letter), the net effect of that letter was probably to slow things up. The decision was made in immediate response to a firm and clear recommendation from Vannevar Bush, a scientific administrator of the first order. Mr. Bush's recommendation was the product of a review process that he had shared with James B. Conant.

They were moved primarily by the extraordinary Maud Report compiled by scientists in Britain who had concluded that a wartime bomb was indeed possible. The Maud Report in turn was the product of a year-long review triggered by a brilliant secret memorandum of early 1940 in which the refugee scientists Frisch and Peierls had been the first to report the probability that very small amounts of separated U-235 — the more readily explosive isotopes of uranium — could make a very big bang.

Roosevelt's decision, which led not to a speech but to action, was

identified years ago, of trying to protect missiles with an ABM. The Russians will not be able to tell whether it is also intended to protect cities — however improbable — and thus is an attempt to shift the nuclear balance. The resulting instability could prompt the Russians in a crisis to use their weapons before a U.S. ABM system is completed. And Moscow might simply ape U.S. efforts — not, however, leading to mutual reassurances of safety, but to competing fears about attempts

to gain lopsided advantages in defending cities.

The president's proposal should be seen not as a serious way to end fears of nuclear war, but rather as an effort to undercut the movement to freeze nuclear developments on both sides, by holding out the chimera of an alternative to deterrence to Americans who fear the prospects of nuclear war.

Even if the proposal does not proceed beyond continued research and development, it can have serious implications for relations with Western Europe. The president asserted that the new ABM system would protect those countries, too. But a cursory look at the map reveals that weapons that could destroy high-flying warheads would not stop those that the Russians can launch against Western Europe by a host of other means. And proposing to defend the United States while Europe must remain almost totally vulnerable is no way to inspire confidence in American reliability.

There is, of course, a better answer — not to eliminate nuclear weapons, as such, since there is no way to invent them, but to limit the current arms race. Agreements on arms control and reductions should be pursued vigorously.

The writer, director of European studies at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, served on the staff of the National Security Council in the Carter administration. He contributed this comment to the Los Angeles Times.

A Long Way From Roosevelt's Lonely Decision

By McGeorge Bundy

WASHINGTON — In an astonishing passage tucked on an otherwise routine effort to sell his defense budget, President Ronald Reagan has called on American scientists to join in a mighty effort to develop an effective defense against nuclear missiles.

He noted that it was the scientists who gave us the nuclear bomb in the first place. This reminder invites a look at the way an earlier president made the decision then to join that effort.

Roosevelt's basic decision that the country should get a bomb if it could was made Oct. 9, 1941 (not in 1939 when Einstein wrote his famous letter), the net effect of that letter was probably to slow things up. The decision was made in immediate response to a firm and clear recommendation from Vannevar Bush, a scientific administrator of the first order. Mr. Bush's recommendation was the product of a review process that he had shared with James B. Conant.

They were moved primarily by the extraordinary Maud Report compiled by scientists in Britain who had concluded that a wartime bomb was indeed possible. The Maud Report in turn was the product of a year-long review triggered by a brilliant secret memorandum of early 1940 in which the refugee scientists Frisch and Peierls had been the first to report the probability that very small amounts of separated U-235 — the more readily explosive isotopes of uranium — could make a very big bang.

Roosevelt's decision, which led not to a speech but to action, was

the product of extraordinary discoveries by extraordinary men of science, and careful review by men in two countries whose capacity for judging scientific questions had been professionally tested. The

lonely and enormous decision was indeed made by the president, but he did not call on the scientists for action until what they had learned led them to call on him.

Compare this process of decision with Mr. Reagan's. Does his proposal rest on new scientific insights? His advisers have told the press it does not, and scientists of the first rank confirm the absence of any new idea remotely comparable to that of Mr. Frisch and Mr. Peierls. Was the decision the product of any analysis and review even distantly resembling the work of the Maud Committee or the examination by Mr. Bush and Mr. Conant? Clearly not. It appears to be a quick-trigger personal response to the frustration of military advisers, some of whom do indeed fervently wish they had a good way to defend the increasingly implausible MX missile.

Was there any serious consultation with experts and leaders in the scientific community? Apparently not. Mr. Reagan wanted a news-making speech more than he wanted a good decision, so consultation was tightly limited both in scope and in content. The first major gathering of eminent scientists took place only after the speech had been handed out to the press. It was not a meeting in which serious advice could be sought or offered; its formal proceedings lasted only 45 minutes. The decision-making processes of the two presidents could hardly be more different.

The realities of the two decisions are just as far apart. Roosevelt's de-

From America, a 'Told-You-So' on the Pipeline

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — A white elephant is stalking Europe — the specter of one of the costliest economic blunders ever made by a serenely smug group.

Remember the brouhaha about the Soviet gas pipeline to Western Europe? The Reagan men tried to persuade West Germany and France not to contract to buy huge amounts of natural gas from the Soviet Union, or to finance the construction of a Soviet-owned pipeline to Siberia.

When European leaders — greedy for sales of pipeline equipment, and blind to consequences — told Mr. Reagan to peddle his papers, the American president responded by forbidding the use of U.S. technology in that pipeline. The Atlantic allies rose in fury.

Never mind that the biggest energy deal between East and West guaranteed the Russians the hard currency to buy technology for their war machine. The allies, wrongly equating U.S. grain sales (which cost the Russians hard currency) with their gas purchases (which made the Russians money), defied Mr. Reagan.

Conventional wisdom now holds that the United States needlessly

caused a rift in the alliance by resisting the transfer of equipment made under U.S. licenses. When the new secretary of state, George P. Shultz, arranged to lift the sanctions, he was hailed by Eurocrats and Europhiles for his responsibility and good sense.

But take a new look at that deal in the light of sinking oil prices. Back in 1981, when Ostpolitik was in fashion, gas was selling for \$4.70 per million British thermal units. The Europeans, confident that energy costs would rise, contracted to buy gas for delivery in 1984 at \$5.40.

But the cost of gas is closely linked to the price of oil. As the price of crude has eroded, the price of Algerian gas to Europe has come down by nearly a dollar per million Btu's. Industry analysts say that oil dips below \$25 a barrel, natural gas in Europe should be selling for well under \$4. That means the Europeans are stuck with paying \$5.40 for gas that anybody can buy for less than \$4.

If oil drops to \$20

Sandinist Concern Over Guerrilla Raids Seems to Reflect Domestic Troubles

By Edward Cody
Washington Post Service

MANGAUA — When counterrevolutionary guerrillas passed through the village of Muyi May last week, residents stood by and cheered. A few days later, when Nicaraguan militiamen moved in, the same villagers came out to cheer.

"They must be the most neutral people in the world," said a Sandinist official relating what had happened in the hamlet in eastern Matagalpa province.

This story was meant to be humorous. But it went a long way to explain the recently intensified concern here over U.S.-backed anti-government forces that have been trying in earnest since last summer to overthrow the three-and-a-half-year-old Sandinist rule.

Over the last few weeks, organized counterrevolutionary bands have for the first time been able to establish a scattered military presence and mount sporadic raids in Matagalpa province, only 10 miles (13 kilometers) from Managua and nearly 100 miles from the Honduran border mountains where they have rear bases and supply sources.

Sandinist officials estimate the number of guerrillas inside the country at about 2,000, with at least several hundred in the Matagalpa

hills. The officials said the infiltrators had been surrounded and then crushed. The Matagalpa raid nevertheless marked the first time the counterrevolutionaries had been able to remain in any numbers away from the northern border region, where they can cross into havens in Honduras, or the isolated reaches of eastern Zelaya province, where a restive Miskito Indian population provides a friendly environment.

What this means, according to Sandinist officials and foreign diplomats, is that the guerrillas enjoy at least tolerance, if not support, from some farmers and villagers in the region.

For a government that came to power on a wave of popular enthusiasm for its own uprising against the late Anastasio Somoza, the realization amounts to a troubling blow.

It also comes at a time when relations seem to be hardening between the Sandinist leadership and its opponents in private business and the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

As a result, there is speculation among some Sandinist officials that the revolutionary leadership could soon be pressured into harder line political controls that would further taint its declared policy of pluralism.

Police John Paul II's visit to Nicaragua at the

beginning of the month, marked by what amounted to revolutionary cheerleading by Nicaragua's top officials during the papal Mass, helped crystallize and sharpen the antagonism.

A lay Catholic activist, a strong Sandinist opponent, called the performance "disgusting." He said the outcome would be to reinforce the authority of Archbishop Miguel Obando Bravo in his struggle against Nicaraguan priests and religious who have embraced the Sandinist revolution, sometimes bypassing church teachings on Marxism.

Government relations with upper level private business were in effect "frozen" even before the papal visit, business leaders say.

A measure of the contacts with the political opposition, which also embraces the business opposition, came Friday with a meeting between Interior Minister Tomás Borge Martínez and Luis Leiva Rivas, head of the political and business opposition umbrella coordinating committee.

Mr. Leiva refused to respond to a summons from the governing junta, which Sandinist officials said was issued in an effort to brief the opposition on the situation created by the recent counterrevolutionary attacks. Mr. Leiva argued he was leaving on vacation to Costa Rica

and the committee would choose someone to replace him for the meeting.

However, he was refused permission to board his flight, his passport was confiscated, and he was told to report to the Sandinist security headquarters to discuss his case, he told friends. Later he was taken to see Mr. Borge, who criticized him for refusing the junta's efforts to keep the opposition informed, these friends said.

It is difficult for an outsider to judge how deep into the population such antagonisms reach despite frequent gripes about economic hardships and shortages in Managua. More than half the country's 2.7 million residents are under 15, and youthful enthusiasm for the Sandinist revolution appears to a visitor to remain high.

In addition, even among the government's strongest critics in Nicaragua, the idea of a return to Somoza-style rule promoted by former officers from the dictator's hated National Guard finds no support. With that in mind, the Sandinist leadership consistently portrays the counterrevolutionaries as National Guardsmen seeking to return to power with the U.S. help.

The Sandinist leadership thus has been particularly incensed at what it says is an attempt by the Reagan administration in recent days to create a false impression in Nicaragua and

abroad of an internal insurrection against the revolutionary government rather than the U.S.-backed attacks from Honduran soil that Managua says are occurring.

The main anti-government exile force, the Nicaraguan Democratic Front, seen here as a lever for U.S. policy against Nicaragua, has long claimed support from dissatisfied Nicaraguans within the country. Now, the officials note, State Department spokesmen and the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, have emphasized the same theme in comments without recalling a history of U.S. support for Mr. Somoza. Since then, they say, the Reagan administration has allocated \$19 million to finance an anti-Sandinist subversion campaign widely reported in the U.S. press.

Against that background, each counterrevolutionary attack, even if minor in military terms, fits into what is defined here as a pattern of harassment that has the weight of the U.S. government behind it. As a result, the Sandinist leaders react with charges of "invasion" that viewed from the outside, may seem out of proportion to the small-scale raids actually being carried out.

A Sandinist official, recognizing this, nevertheless expressed fear that U.S. emphasis on internal unrest could be a source of "war hysteria" in Nicaragua, leading the government to "measures that a lot of people will not like."

carrying to use its territory. Sandinist officials and foreign diplomats say such a conflict is unlikely unless one side makes a severe miscalculation.

The anti-government raids raised other fears, however, because they fit into what is seen here as systematic persecution by the United States designed to frustrate the Sandinist revolution. Few Sandinist officials get very far in a conversation without recalling a history of U.S. support for Mr. Somoza. Since then, they say, the Reagan administration has allocated \$19 million to finance an anti-Sandinist subversion campaign widely reported in the U.S. press.

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U.S. Naval Officers Report a Buildup of Cuban Military Power

By Drew Middleton
New York Times Service

ROOSEVELT ROADS, Puerto Rico — U.S. naval officers say they are concerned by what they view as a steady expansion of Cuba's conventional military power in the last two years, with the Soviet Union as its arms supplier and paymaster.

The officers said information on the expansion of Cuba's military strength was made clear by photographic and other intelligence evidence.

The evidence was said to show that early this year Cuba completed the building of 190 concrete, bombproof shelters for its fleet of about 225 Soviet-built MiG fighter-bombers.

It was also learned that the Russians will soon transfer four more Foxtrot submarines to Cuba, bringing the total to six. These diesel-powered patrol vessels carry up to 10 torpedoes and could endanger sea lanes in the Caribbean, the officers said.

Two of six Soviet Bear long-range turboprop planes that have operated from Cuba during a recent U.S. naval exercise northeast of Puerto Rico have been equipped for anti-submarine warfare with torpedoes and advanced submarine detection devices.

The Soviet intelligence center at Lourdes, Cuba, is the largest such non-U.S. installation in the Western Hemisphere and monitors signals in the eastern United States. In a war, it could jam U.S. civilian and military communications, the officers said.

In addition, the Cuban Navy recently completed the conversion of a large trawler into an intelligence-gathering ship the Balzán, which, like Soviet ships of the same class, shadows U.S. naval activities in the Caribbean.

The Soviet Union and Cuba are engaged in a five-year program, which began in 1980 and is the second of its kind, to strengthen Cuban armed forces. The tonnage of military supplies transferred to Cuba in 1981 and 1982 was about 68,000 metric tons or double the tonnage from 1976 to 1980.

The Soviet Union, in addition, finances Cuba's military establishment and internal security apparatus at a cost estimated at more than \$500 million a year.

The Cuban military structure is already formidable by Central American standards. Counting fixed-wing combat aircraft and combat helicopters, Cuba deploys 550 planes.

These improvements in Cuba's military capacity have been accompanied by an increase in the frequency of Soviet naval and air deployments in the region. Six Bear aircraft followed the first stages of the naval exercise of the U.S. 2d Fleet and British and Dutch units.

Intelligence experts anticipate further transfers of Soviet surface ships to Cuba.

Amphibious ships acquired from Russia were characterized by U.S. officials as "ideal" for landing operations in Central America.

The Cuban role was emphasized in a speech Wednesday night by President Ronald Reagan in which he stressed the strategic importance of the Caribbean region to the United States. These developments are already influencing U.S. military planning. Navy deployments in the Caribbean, for example, have increased in size and frequency.

Such deployments, senior officers said, are possible in peace. But in a war, they said, the national military leadership would face a difficult choice.

"Could we proceed to reinforce Europe with land, sea and air resources in the belief that Cuba would remain neutral?" a senior officer asked. "Or would we have to retain sufficient resources in the Caribbean in insure that neutrality?"

Another important consideration is the flow of oil through the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean from Venezuela and Mexico. Most of this and other commercial traffic moves through the Straits of Florida and the Yucatan channel, each between 90 and 100 nautical miles wide.

"This is critical," a senior officer said. "Cuba today has the power to interdict movement through those channels unless we made a major diversion of naval resources in response."

Disappearances Cited in Jakarta

Reuters

JAKARTA — Indonesia's leading human rights organization has publicly expressed concern for the first time over what it said were disappearances of political figures.

The privately-funded Indonesian Legal Aid Institute said in a 220-page report published this week that it was "deeply concerned at political disappearances which may lead to political murders." It added: "It is as if we are being faced with a new kind of punishment."

The institute said it began noticing reports of disappearances of political figures after the hijacking by Moslem extremists of an Indonesian airplane to Bangkok in March 1981. The report accused the government of secretly arresting 300 Moslem leaders in Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi and the Maluku Islands.



United Press International
Javier Pérez de Cuellar, center, secretary-general of the United Nations, and Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, began a second day of talks Tuesday in Moscow.

UN Leader, After Andropov Talks, Is Encouraged on Afghanistan

By John Burns
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Javier Pérez de Cuellar, the secretary-general of the United Nations, said Tuesday that he had received "renewed encouragement" from Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, to pursue UN efforts to mediate an end to the war in Afghanistan.

At a news conference, Mr. Pérez de Cuellar said he was optimistic after two hours of talks with Mr. Andropov on Monday and a further three hours Tuesday with Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko.

He replied: "One of the elements in the problem is the presence of Soviet troops in the area. But if you want me to tell you that Mr. Andropov will withdraw Soviet troops tomorrow, I think that you are not naieve as all that."

The secretary-general's visit here was made at the invitation of Mr. Andropov. While Soviet accounts of the meetings said that a range of international issues was discussed, Mr. Pérez de Cuellar said that the discussion on Afghanistan with Mr. Andropov had been lengthy.

Other matters covered included disarmament, including proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and the United States for limiting nuclear weapons, and the situation in Islamabad, Pakistan.

Diplomatic interest here focused on the Afghanistan discussions.

Immediately after he succeeded Leonid I. Brezhnev as Communist Party leader in November, Mr. Andropov met with Pakistan's president, General Mohammed Zia ul-

Haq, and the Pakistani leader's remarks afterward led to speculation that Mr. Andropov might be preparing for a compromise settlement. Soviet officials with access to Mr. Andropov had said previously that in his earlier position as head of the KGB intelligence and security apparatus he had opposed the use of Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

Within a month, those hopes largely dissipated. Soviet pronouncements reaffirmed earlier pledges that Soviet forces would eventually be withdrawn, but these were coupled with a restatement of conditions amounting to a demand for international acceptance of the government in Kabul, installed in a Soviet-backed coup.

■ **Rebel Roadblocks Reported**

Moslem rebels have blocked roads into Afghanistan's second-largest city, Kandahar, in a spring offensive against Soviet and Afghan forces. Reuters quoted Western diplomats as saying Tuesday in Islamabad, Pakistan.

The diplomats said mule trains were being used to get food and other supplies to the city of 150,000 people as fighting in several parts of the country signaled the start of spring offensives by both sides.

Weinberger Sought to Sell Spain On NATO, but Madrid Is Cautious

By John Darnton
New York Times Service

MADRID — U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger used a 48-hour visit here last week to press the leaders of the Socialist government to resume Spain's full membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Before leaving Friday, the secretary was given an audience with King Juan Carlos I, rounding out a schedule that included talks with Prime Minister Felipe González and Foreign Minister Narciso Serra and Foreign Minister Fernando Moran.

On Thursday night, in his only public appearance, Mr. Weinberger answered questions at a dinner given by an international affairs institute.

Mr. Weinberger was a forceful spokesman for the idea that Spain should once and for all anchor itself in the "community" of Western industrial democracies by means of a multilateral military commitment.

Everywhere he went, and in his meetings with all the top officials, his message was apparently the same: that the new Socialist government should get off the fence and press ahead with membership in NATO, preferably on a full-scale basis. As things stand now, Spain is half-in, half-out. The centrist government joined last June, but the Socialists stopped integrating into the military structure pending a promised public referendum.

As Europe, and especially in France, seems to be turning its back on Spain, sentiment for a counter-rejection is building here. Perhaps, it is said, Spain should avoid the major power blocs and strive instead to carve out a leadership role in North Africa and Latin America. Much was made in the Spanish press over Madrid's attendance at the recent Third World meeting in New Delhi.

Only the United States seems to have perceived this. No other country has sent such high-level officials to visit. Secretary of State George P. Shultz came here in December, and the Spaniards find it both flattering and fitting to be courted by a major power. Washington, for its part, sees socialist governments lining the entire length of the Mediterranean, from Greece to Portugal (the Socialists

are favored to win next month's Portuguese elections) and it wants to secure NATO's position in the region.

The problem for Mr. Weinberger is that, for the moment, it suits the Spanish government to keep its NATO status as undefined as possible as it searches out the path it wants to follow in world affairs. Mr. González made it clear at a news conference recently that he is in no hurry to hold his promised referendum. He cited the negative contribution to East-West tension that it could provoke.

The outcome of such a referendum is by no means clear. A recent newspaper survey indicated that 60 percent of those questioned were against NATO membership.

Balancing the suspicions of the left, the moderate Socialists appear to realize that the fate of NATO is a strong incentive to the Spanish military to behave. Even more, membership could modernize the army and realign its thinking about its role in Spanish society, to protect against an outside enemy instead of to guard against internal subversion.

The contending forces and opinions on NATO membership mean that for the time being, the government seems content to straddle the fence. It has already signaled its desire for good relations with Washington by initiating a slightly amended agreement to renew base rights for the United States.

Looked at from one perspective, the trip of Mr. Weinberger, who was invited by Mr. Serra, could be the opening round in a long-term effort to bring Spain into the alliance, but on its own terms and, above all, cautiously. Shortly after the secretary left, Mr. Serra said, "We are neither nearer nor farther from NATO, but better informed."

Warsaw Ghetto Rites Face Boycott Survivor of 1943 Uprising Assails Polish Regime

By Dan Fisher
Los Angeles Times Service

WARSAW — More than 2,000 Nazi troops came for the last of the Warsaw Jews before dawn on April 19, 1943.

They entered the walled ghetto with tanks, machine guns, and other heavy weapons, expecting resistance from the condemned men and women inside — men and women who had nothing to lose.

About 360,000 of their neighbors in the ghetto had already been deported to Nazi death camps and the 40,000 still behind those ghetto walls knew that it was their turn.

■ **Communist Party source said**

it appears that only about 1,000 of the Jewish visitors invited from abroad will come for the anniversary instead of the 5,000 that the authorities once hoped for.

The plan to mark the 40th anniversary in such grand fashion — the program includes the reopening of Warsaw's only synagogue, which has been closed and under repair for two years — has been seen by some within the government as politically risky from the beginning.

The Polish authorities are planning an eight-day observance of the 40th anniversary of the ghetto uprising next month. From all accounts it will be the most elaborate celebration of the anniversary so far, and prominent Jews from all over the world have been invited.

The authorities also invited Mr. Edelman, who escaped through the sewers in 1943. He is the only survivor of the uprising living in Poland, one of only a handful he said.

"Forty years ago we not only fought for our lives, but for life in dignity and freedom," he explained. "Observance of our anniversary here, where social life in its entirety is overshadowed by degradation and oppression, where words and gestures have been completely falsified, is betrayal of our struggle, is participation in something completely contradicting it. It is an act of cynicism and contempt."

Mr. Edelman's stance, which he has circulated as an open letter to the underground press and which he reiterated last week in an interview at his home in Lodz, is one example of how the anniversary is backfiring on the government politically.

The authorities had hoped that the observance would help them break out of the international isolation in which they found themselves after the December 1981

declaration of martial law, according to

INSIGHTS



Steve Mandelson/The Washington Post

Chinese Students and the U.S. Lure**Many Are Torn Between a New Life and Serving the Motherland**

By Jay Mathews

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Huang Li, citizen of China and resident of the United States, lives a double life.

By day, he is a doctoral candidate in sociology at a large East Coast university. By night, he helps write and publish a Chinese journal critical of his country's economic policies and human rights violations.

With all but his most intimate friends, he uses the pen name of Huang Li because he wants to return to China and knows what his night activities in the United States could cost him if his government found out. But Mr. Huang also wants a chance to stay in the United States if the prospects in China do not look good.

Full of patriotic fervor, a hunger for information and a distaste for bureaucracy and repression, Mr. Huang represents a new phenomenon in U.S. relations with China and other Communist states.

No other closed socialist society — certainly not the Soviet Union — has ever risked sending to the United States as many scholars and students as has China in the past three years. The State Department estimates that about 10,000 are in the country and many have decided to stay. The situation poses consequences for Chinese-American relations that policy-makers have just begun to consider.

Beijing has threatened to reduce cultural exchanges when celebrated Chinese like the tennis player Hu Na defect to the United States. But beneath the surface, Chinese officials seem as hag as the huge student exodus as Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese leader, seemed four years ago, when he said China could stand to lose 10 percent or so of its student horde.

Technology and Contacts

In the words of one American official, the Chinese "are getting more than their money's worth." Beijing has used student exchanges to crack open the rich net of American technology, political contacts and financial resources. Some Chinese students trying to find American jobs or spouses that would allow them to stay are being quietly reassured by Chinese with official connections that Beijing understands and counts on them to help the motherland as best they can.

The student exchange has offered the Chinese some crude espionage opportunities. But it has also opened up innocent links to American culture, finance and politics that are even more important to Beijing's diplomatic initiative to encircle the U.S.-supported island of Taiwan.

Chinese students and scholars here absorb a great deal of information at little cost to the Chinese government. Chinese living allowances are notoriously small. Many of the students have American relatives. By letting them leave China, Beijing acquires the good will of their often wealthy and influential uncles and cousins in the United States.

The student-exchange program also provides opportunities for the children of the powerful in Beijing. The son of Huang Hua, the former foreign minister, is studying at Harvard University. Mr. Deng's son has studied physics in Rochester, New York.

"I think the Chinese government knew the risk they were taking, exposing their people to a different system," said Gregory Tsang, a counselor at North Seattle Community College, who has become a key figure in Chinese cultural exchanges with the Pacific Northwest. "But all things considered, they were willing to take the risk."

Whatever Beijing's attitude, the dangers for Chinese who choose to remain abroad and for U.S. officials who have to accommodate them still remain.

Free and Easy Culture

Many who wish to stay, Mr. Huang said, are lured by the comfortable apartments, the free and easy culture and the high salaries that China may never be able to offer. But what drew them to the United States initially was the chance to learn more about the arts or sciences to which they have devoted their lives. What disturbs them is "the fear that we will not be allowed to be useful when we return to China, and perhaps in the future might be punished for just having studied in America." Mr. Huang said he hopes for better, but added, "My country is not very stable."

It is unclear just how many Chinese have decided to defen government wishes by trying to stay. Celebrated defectors, such as Hu Na, the tennis player, have received much attention. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service reports 1,030 applications for political asylum from Chinese pending at the end of the 1982 fiscal year. The figure represents 10 percent of all Chinese studying in the United States. It has reportedly caused some distress among officials in Beijing.

Eight Chinese were granted asylum in 1982 and 94 were denied it.

Recently, university administrators here said, some Chinese admitted to American universities have been denied exit permits from China because of apparent concern over loss some of the country's best young minds.

Because of federal privacy rules and Immigration and Naturalization Service procedures, it is difficult to say how many of the asylum applicants are recent arrivals from China.

Duke Austin, an INS spokesman, said the category of "Chinese" applicants includes anyone who was born to China, even if they have spent most of their lives in Japan, France or Taiwan. There are more than 20,000 students from Taiwan in the United States.

INS and State Department spokesmen said asylum applications are kept confidential so that anyone turned down can return to his homeland without being punished for simply trying to defect. Officials familiar with the applications from Chinese say many cannot prove that they risk political persecution on their return and want to remain in the United States only to improve their living standards.

In the meantime, Chinese to the United States remain patriotic in a special way, committed to the ideal of China regaining a place as a great power. "They resent questions like, 'Well, are you going back? Don't you want to stay here?' It's insulting," said a university professor to California who has sponsored some Chinese students.

"Not everything to this country is just fine," Mr. Huang said. The crime rate is much higher in American cities than it is in China, he said. Also, "sometimes I find the relationships between people here are very cold," he said, adding that he had still managed to make many friends.

John Day, a Harvard junior who knows several of the Chinese studying at the university and has roomed with one of them, said they tend to be uncomfortable at a normally uproarious college party and often stick to themselves. They like concerts and plays, he said, but study so much harder than their American counterparts that their social lives seem thin by comparison. None of the Chinese he has met, Mr. Day said, has ever expressed a desire not to return to China.

Although Chinese react to the attractions and temptations of American life in many different ways, their basic response can often be predicted by simply asking who pays their bills. According to the State Department, about 4,500 of the students and scholars are government-supported, what the Chinese call *gong jie*.

An additional 5,500 are *zi fei*, or self-supported, which usually means friends or relatives in the United States have agreed to act as their financial sponsors and help pay their tuition and living costs.

The self-supported students tend to be younger, more influenced by the economic pressures of American life and freer to plan a strategy for staying on.

Suffered Discrimination

Huang Li came to the United States under the sponsorship of a U.S. university an American teacher he had met in China. He acknowledges that "people who are not supported by the government — many don't want to go back."

They include many young people whose parents, belonging to the class of scholars, landlords and capitalists, once suffered discrimination in China and who lived under a cloud just for having relatives in the United States. They may make up the bulk of asylum seekers.

Government-supported students, often part of some formal exchange programs between the Chinese and U.S. governments, have tended to be older and often have wives and children who remain behind in China.

The *gong jie* students really have no chance to stay, so they don't even want to think about it," said Janet Yang, an American who previously worked in Beijing and now studies at the business school of Columbia University. One professor at a California campus said he sees such students "trying to prolong the experience as long as possible" soaking up U.S. technology and research that will help them to their fields. They also buy many cassette tape recorders and other favored items to ship back home.

Some crumble emotionally under the pressures of American life. "In China, everything is taken care of for you," said Mr. Tsang. "The choices are limited, and you can get used to that. In the United States, you have a lot of choices, but a lot of confusion. How to make a telephone call, how to get downtown, how to see a professor. This is the American spirit, but to some Chinese, it's terrible."

Many Chinese in the United States labor

under severe language difficulties, particularly those who were selected for study abroad through political connections rather than merit. In at least two cases, Chinese students have committed suicide out of apparent despair that they were not keeping up in their studies.

Added to this is the usual sense of political intrigue that follows Chinese wherever they go. On campuses where large numbers of Chinese are studying, officials from Chinese consulates have occasionally visited to warn against associations with Americans of the opposite sex, or attendance at political meetings where life in China might be criticized.

Some *zi fei* students, bothered by the close government connections of some *gong jie* students, have tried to keep their campus addresses a secret.

American security authorities have long suspected that many of the Chinese (as well as Taiwanese) students also play a part-time espionage role. One California professor said an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation told him the bureau had the Chinese consul in San Francisco under investigation for attempting to steal high-technology secrets with the help of Chinese scholars on some campuses.

But most of the cloak-and-dagger atmosphere involves Chinese vs. Chinese.

"Who is to know that in 10 or 15 years, having studied in the United States might be considered politically dangerous?" said a California professor who has lived to China. "So how do you cover yourself?" Some suspect that an attack on the display of a Taiwan flag at the International Center at the University of California, San Diego, by several Chinese scholars grew in part from a need to display loyalty to Beijing and its government.

"You have to be harder on the issue than you have to be if you are back in China," said a California professor who asserted that an upcoming trip to China would be jeopardized if it was identified. "When people go back, they are more or less obliged to hold briefings sessions and make remarks critical of the United States and life here. It's a sad world, but it's the world they have to live in."

Richard T.S. Hsu, a Chinese Petroleum Ministry official studying law at the University of Washington, said visiting Chinese scholars "could have a better life here, if they don't admire this country. ... find among intellectuals, even those who suffered during the Cultural Revolution (as Mr. Hsu did), they want to return to help the motherland."

Brown and Blue Slacks

Thomas Fingar, director of the U.S.-Chinese relations program at Stanford University, notes that almost all the Chinese students there wear the drab brown and blue slacks and jackets they brought from home. They do not have much money and often do not care about clothes, Mr. Fingar said. But, he added, "Who wants to explain when you go home why you wore American clothes, why you wanted to be different from your comrades?"

Some still hope to change their homeland.

including the small band of six students from the Chinese mainland and six ethnic Chinese from other parts of the world who edit the new magazine, *China Spring*, in New York. Led by Wang Bingzhang, 33, a physician who defected after reaching Canada on a Chinese government scholarship, the group has dedicated their journal to the notion that "although the democracy movement within China has been suppressed, it is not dead."

Mr. Huang said the group distributed 6,500 copies of the first issue in the United States. It included articles supporting Chinese political prisoners, especially the young Chinese who were involved in the Democracy Movement of the late 1970s. It also contained articles criticizing the Chinese economic "readjustment" policy and the lack of "legal perspective" on the part of the Chinese leadership, Hu Yaobang.

Twenty-thousand copies were scheduled to be distributed in Hong Kong this month so that residents could take them to relatives inside China on their traditional Chinese New Year visits. Mr. Huang said the magazine has received more than 2,000 letters, fewer than 10 of them critical, and many from Chinese students studying in America.

Now in his 30s, Mr. Huang was sent to a rural village and then a city factory during the Cultural Revolution. He insists his country is ripe for the same kind of workers' revolt that led to the Solidarity movement in Poland. He has two years left on his visa and sees no difficulty in extending it. But he adds, "I will go back before my study is up if the situation changes," and China seems ready again for economic and political reform.

Jay Mathews, the Los Angeles bureau chief of *The Washington Post*, was its Beijing bureau chief in 1979 and 1980.

The Arms Race in Space: U.S., Russia Compete in Nonnuclear Technology

By John Noble Wilford

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — After the United States and the Soviet Union ratified a treaty outlawing nuclear weapons in space in 1967, most of the world relaxed under the assumption that its newest frontier was not likely to become a battleground. But military planners and weapons technologists on both sides, never relaxing, quietly pursued visions of space wars fought with nonnuclear weapons.

They have designed and in some cases tested satellites to hunt and destroy other satellites. They have conducted extensive research aimed at developing space-based weapons with lasers and particle-beam systems — rapidly catching up with the deadly ray guns of science fiction.

Even though the feasibility of such nonnuclear weapons in the foreseeable future has yet to be proved, President Ronald Reagan called attention to them last week in a speech urging U.S. scientists "to turn their great talents toward developing powerful weapons in space that could serve as a defense against nuclear missiles."

He did not specify the weapons he had in mind, but White House aides acknowledged that they involved Earth-based and space-based lasers and particle-beam technologies.

Nor did Mr. Reagan call for any immediate crash program for their development and testing. Spending on such systems has already increased sharply, from \$200 million for laser work in 1980 to \$1 billion annually for laser and particle-beam projects. And this is only part of the escalating expenditures for space military operations in general.

In the next five years the Reagan administration plans to increase military space spending, now about \$3.5 billion a year, by more than 10 percent each year, a greater rate of increase than for the rest of the Defense Department budget.

Passive Military Use of Space

Almost from the beginning of the space age, in 1957 when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I, space has been a realm of considerable military activity, but of the passive kind. Both superpowers use satellites for such applications as early warning against nuclear attack, intelligence gathering, navigation, weather forecasting and long-range communications. More than 40 U.S. satellites now orbiting Earth are performing these functions.

Thirty seconds after a Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile lifts off from a silo, for example, U.S. satellites with infrared sensors should pick out its telltale heat trails. Data on the missile's speed and course are transmitted to communications satellites that relay the information instantaneously to computers and display terminals in an air force command center buried under Cheyenne Mountain near Colorado Springs, Colorado. Further tracking of the missile is also reported by satellite communications.

In addition, Vela satellites, 60,000 miles (96,000 kilometers) out in space, watch for any nuclear detonations. Several satellites with highly sensitive cameras are continuously transmitting photographs and other data which disclose military dispositions by friend and potential foe.

Satellite reconnaissance, it is generally agreed, has had a stabilizing effect on global politics because it has enabled each adversary to verify the other's conformance to the SALT-I treaty limiting strategic weapons. The satellites presumably minimize the chances of surprise and miscalculation.

In 1967, "The Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies," commonly referred to as the Outer Space Treaty, was signed by 107 nations, including all of the countries active in space.

The treaty, which was drafted by the United Nations Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, governs all activities in the exploration and use of outer space. One provision bans the stationing of "weapons of mass destruction" in orbit or on the moon.

One reason the Soviet Union and the United States were willing to agree to the treaty at that time is that they did not see any advantage to having nuclear weapons in space and had determined that orbiting nuclear bombs seemed much less practical than ballistic missiles.

Loophole in Space Treaty

The common definition of "weapons of mass destruction" refers to nuclear bombs or warheads. The research, development, and deployment of the kind of nonnuclear weapons now being discussed for placement in outer space would not appear to be restricted by the terms of the Outer Space Treaty.

While reaffirming a commitment to peaceful uses of space, Mr. Reagan said in a directive on space policy last July, "The United States will pursue activities in space in support of its right to self-defense."

What the administration had in mind was apparently outlined last year in a five-year plan, a secret document known as Defense Guidance. Space operations, the document said, "add a new dimension to our military capabilities."

The document further ordered "the prototype development of space-based weapons systems so that we will be prepared to deploy fully developed and operationally ready systems should their use prove to be in our national interest."

This reflected a growing concern among U.S. military analysts over presumed Soviet advances in space weaponry. Since 1968, the Soviet Union has been testing a nonnuclear anti-satellite system, or ASAT, which it has used to intercept targets sent into space. Small satellites are sent into orbit to hunt a target satellite, hover near it and then explode, shattering the victim craft with a shower of shrapnel.

The U.S. Air Force has countered with an ASAT that is scheduled to undergo its first tests by late summer. By all accounts, it is expected to have greater capability and flexibility than the Soviet ASAT.

The U.S. anti-satellite weapon is a small homing missile, launched into space from a high-flying aircraft, that seeks out its target by infrared sensors and then explodes near it or collides with it at high speed. The Pentagon has directed that the first anti-satellite systems be ready for use by 1987.

The impeding tests are a point of contention between arms-control advocates and the administration. Forty-five members of Congress recently sent a letter to Mr. Reagan calling on him to "refrain from testing this ASAT until we have tried in good faith to negotiate a ban on such weapons."

Dr. Richard Garwin, a physicist at the International Business Machines Corp. and a long-time government adviser on military matters, has said the Russians "show every sign of being willing to give up further testing of their ASATs" in return for a similar pledge by the United States.

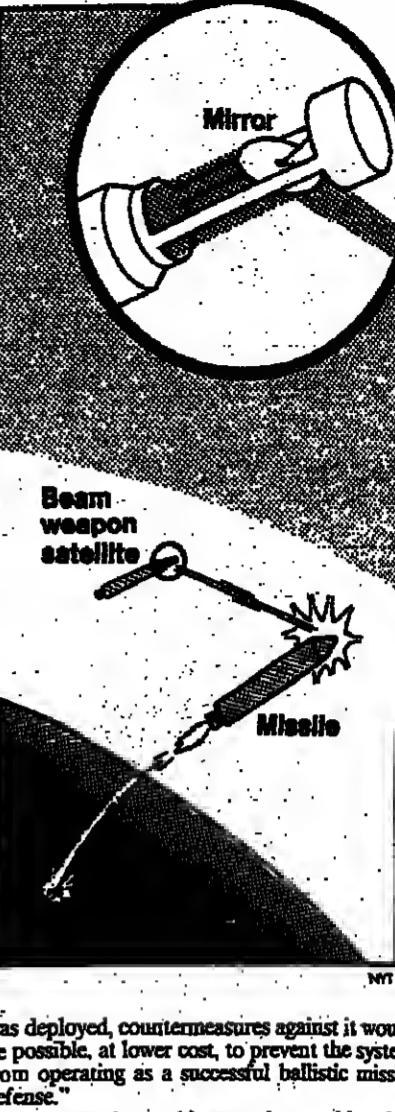
Perhaps the most effective weapon against the current generation of satellites is in hand. It is an ordinary nuclear warhead that can be exploded in space. Such an explosion generates an electromagnetic pulse, damaging or destroying unprotected electronics in satellites at great distances. The problem is that the pulse might wipe out a nation's own satellites as well as the enemy's.

But Mr. Reagan's "vision of the future," as expressed in his speech March 23, extended to verify the other's conformance to the SALT-I treaty limiting strategic weapons. The satellites presumably minimize the chances of surprise and miscalculation.

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Moreover, Mr. Brown said, "by the time it



was deployed, countermeasures against it would be possible, at lower cost, to prevent the system from operating as a successful ballistic missile defense.

The most advanced laser under consideration is one that works by combining fluorine and hydrogen to produce energy in the form of light. This light is amplified by mirrors within the weapon until it emerges as an intense, highly focused laser beam. A brief pulse of 200 million watts, which might be possible, could vaporize metal and produce destructive shock waves.

Dr. Garwin, the long-time government adviser, said there was "no indication" that "you can make a big enough laser and point it accurately enough." He was sure, he said, that "I can destroy the system of concentrated large laser satellites, and if I'm going to have a war in which I undertake to attack the U.S. I'm certainly going to have arranged space mines next



The medium for the 80's was invented in 1923.

This year TIME, the Weekly Newsmagazine, begins its 61st year of publication. Since TIME was founded in 1923, the world has moved from the Model T Ford to the space shuttle *Columbia*, from crystal radios and silent movies to live telecasts from the moon. People, nations and institutions have been born, flourished and disappeared. And TIME has recorded it all, so clearly and comprehensively that it is now read each week by nearly 30 million men and women

in 190 countries around the world.

TIME, uniquely successful in communicating ideas and information on a truly international scale, is for that very reason a uniquely appropriate medium through which advertisers can address a whole new world of flourishing international markets. Through all its sixty years of publication, TIME has never been more relevant to its readers, everywhere, than today. It is truly the medium for the 80's.



The world magazine.

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS/FINANCE

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 30, 1983

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BUSINESS PEOPLE

Rothschild Hires From Citicorp To Boost Its Eurobond Activities

In a bid to "strengthen our Eurobond activities generally," N.M. Rothschild has recruited Paul Stolkies Davies, a company spokesman said in London this week.

Mr. Davies, who joins the bank as an assistant director of its Rothschild Asset Management unit, previously was head of sales in the international securities division of Citicorp International Bank in London.

The spokesman said that Rothschild's dealings in the primary market for Eurobonds "have shrunk a bit in recent years" but it hoped to step up this activity. He said Rothschild now "must root around to get the bonds" that its clients want.

Rothschild was not eager to publicize the move, the spokesman said, adding: "We're very low key here, we're very British."

ADR Seeks European 'Friends'

Applied Data Research is making its products more "friendly" in hopes of gaining a larger European market share, said Adriaan C. de Graaf, recently named an ADR vice president. "We are doing translating and we also are making our products look like local products," he said.

In the past, ADR has had its biggest growth in France, where sales rose to 15 million French francs in 1982 (about \$2.5 million at current exchange rates), from 9 million in 1980, Mr. de Graaf said. Currently, the company's largest growth is in Britain and Austria.

The Zurich-based executive is managing director of ADR Europe, which is responsible for sales, education and customer-support activities in Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and Britain. In 1982 ADR, based in Princeton, New Jersey, had a profit of \$6.7 million on sales of \$68.4 million. ADR Europe accounted for about 25 percent of the sales.



Adriaan C. de Graaf

Other Appointments

Tetsuo Shimura has been appointed general manager of the Bank of Tokyo's international finance center in London. He succeeds Minoru Tsuyuki, who is returning to Tokyo to become deputy general manager of the bank's international project finance division.

American Express has named Paul Vurule president of consumer financial services for Asia, the Pacific and Australia. Mr. Vurule, who is based in Hong Kong, formerly was Amex's senior vice president and general manager for Asia, the Pacific and Australia.

Francisco Rodriguez de Avila has been named vice president and general manager of Banco de Santander International in Miami. Succeeding him as sub-manager of the bank's London branch is Luis Kothe, who previously was in the Madrid office.

John Connell has been appointed representative of the Barclays Group in Stockholm. He succeeds Alan Timbrell, who was named Barclay's chief manager for Belgium, based in Brussels.

David G. Olley has been appointed to the new position of deputy managing director of Manufacturers Hanover Export Finance Ltd., a London-based subsidiary of Manufacturers Hanover Trust of New York. Mr. Olley formerly was in the London branch of National Bank of North Carolina, where he was a vice president responsible for British export finance.

Olivier de Rohan Chabot, chairman and general manager of Korn-Ferry France, has been appointed chairman of the combined European boards of Korn-Ferry International, an international executive-search firm.

McDonnell Douglas Corp., the St. Louis-based aircraft maker, has appointed W.C. Messermark director-northern Europe and D.E. Moore marketing director-Middle East. They are based in Long Beach, California.

Bruno Mickels has been named general manager of Novo Industri Oy, the Finnish subsidiary of Copenhagen-based Novo Industri, the pharmaceuticals maker. He previously was managing director of Oy Duunari.

Banque Romande of Geneva has appointed Claude Basset general manager, succeeding Henry Huguenin, who was named the bank's chairman and a member of its executive committee. As chairman, Mr. Huguenin succeeds Gianfranco Antognini, who was named chairman of Banca della Svizzera Italiana. Mr. Basset joins Banque Romande from Union Bank of Switzerland, where he was a senior vice president. Banque Romande is a unit of Banca della Svizzera Italiana of Lugano, Italy, itself a unit of Irving Trust of New York.

Ricoh Co., the Tokyo-based maker of office equipment, has named Takeshi Onye chairman. Succeeding him as president is Hiroshi Hamada, who previously was executive managing director.

Nedlloyd, the Rotterdam-based shipping group, has named R.B. Lennertsen to the executive board, effective June 1. He will succeed A. van Putten, who will retire in October 1984.

—BRENDA HAGERTY

CURRENCY RATES

Interbank exchange rates for March 29, excluding bank service charges.									
	U.S.	£	DM	FRF	Sw.	U.S.	DM	FRF	U.S.
Amsterdam	2.42	2.973	12.245	27.88	1.891	1.11	5.482	11.145	2.72
Brussels (e)	48.22	70.23	19.022	44.625	—	22.16	5.584	1.584	—
Frankfurt	2.4225	2.59	—	33.25	1.678	5.541	11.78	28.16	—
London (e)	1.844	—	3.524	10.592	2.0707	3.985	7.015	3.026	4.15
Milan	1.4495	2.1628	29.78	31.92	—	22.96	12.56	12.56	—
New York	—	1.045	1.114	0.177	0.049	—	0.0207	0.0203	0.1199
Paris	2.985	10.411	29.985	—	—	3.026	26.610	15.155	34.95
Zurich	2.8227	3.028	35.82	—	0.1438	7.625	4.2147	—	24.15
IECU	0.2981	0.6204	2.236	6.711	1.22345	2.5224	44.2649	1.9188	—
15DR	1.07574	2.739492	2.6157	7.8512	1.53902	2.5508	57.9558	2.3442	9.2844
Dollar Values									
U.S. Equiv.	Per 5	Per 5	Per 5	Per 5	Per 5	Per 5	Per 5	Per 5	Per 5
Australian \$	1.157	0.0253	1.0253	29.545	0.476	1.07	—	—	—
0.0253 Austrian schilling	—	—	—	22.746	0.0705	—	—	—	—
0.0253 Belgian franc	—	—	—	1.0253	0.0012	—	—	—	—
0.0253 Canadian \$	1.2213	0.0333	0.0333	2.008	0.0073	0.0073	—	—	—
0.1198 Danish krone	0.87	0.1362	0.1362	7.0225	0.1328	0.1328	—	—	—
0.1624 Finnish mark	5.683	0.0945	0.0945	10.952	0.0943	0.0943	—	—	—
0.0110 Greek drachma	0.402	0.0102	0.0102	9.7971	0.0047	0.0047	—	—	—
0.1261 Hong Kong \$	6.73	0.2907	0.2907	3.74	0.2907	0.2907	—	—	—
1.3211 Irish £	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 Sterling: 1.12 Irish £	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(a) Commercial bank (b) Amounts needed to buy one pound (*1 Units of 100 (+1 Units of 1,000									

Fuji Bank Strives For a World Role

By Steve Lohr
New York Times Service

TOKYO — The Fuji Bank has a reputation as a conservative operator whose traditional strength has been in its home market. Yet the announcement two weeks ago that it plans to acquire two commercial lending units of Walter E. Heller International served notice that traditions are changing at the big Japanese bank.

The \$425-million agreement would be the largest acquisition ever by a Japanese company in the United States.

The bid was not just big; it was bold as well. Fuji, Japan's second-largest bank (after Dai-Ichi Kangyo Bank) with \$87 billion in assets, snatched its prize away from Security Pacific. Just two weeks earlier, the Los Angeles-based bank holding company had signed a letter of intent with Heller to buy the same finance operations for \$400 million.

The proposed Heller purchase is a big step in Fuji's ambitions plan to become a more international bank. At present, overseas operations account for about 17 percent of Fuji's earnings. But over the next several years it intends to increase the profit contribution from international activities to 30 percent.

The United States figures large in Fuji's strategy. "And the Heller units give us a much more sound base in the United States," said Sadao Hirano, director and general manager of Fuji's international division. "Diversification is a major part of the strategy — diversifying its terms of customers' services and geographically in America."

Nor is Fuji alone among Japanese banks in moving more aggressively in the international arena lately. In the past few years, the Bank of Tokyo, Sumitomo Bank, Mitsubishi Bank and others have expanded their international and U.S. operations.

The easing of government regulations on Japanese banks' international transactions has been one factor in this trend. "But it is mainly the saturation of the domestic market that has forced the banks abroad," said Etsuke Sakakibara, a senior official in the Finance Ministry.

With the Japanese economy slowed and most major corporations financially strong, the companies' need for bank borrowings has declined. At the same time, the Japanese financial system is undergoing a liberalization that is similar to the current blurring of lines between the banking and the securities industries in the United States.

For Japanese banks, the result is increased competition in an already crowded market.

"International banking is the battlefield on which Japanese banks are now really competing for gains," said David S. Phillips, managing director of Morgan Stanley in Tokyo, Fuji's financial adviser.

Moreover, Fuji's bid apparently has other Japanese banks interested in making sizable acquisitions in the U.S. market. A U.S. investment banker said he has received inquiries from Japanese banks after the Fuji deal was announced. They too want to examine the possibility of buying financial companies in the United States, he said.

The two Heller units — Walter E. Heller & Co. and Walter E. Heller Overseas Corp. — that Fuji is buying have \$3.5 billion in assets. Of that, about \$2.9 billion are in the United States, estimated Yukio Obara, a manager of the international division.



A Fuji Bank branch in Tokyo. Inset: Sadao Hirano, director and general manager of Fuji's international division.

More important, Fuji is gaining about 10,000 customers, mostly small and medium-sized companies, serviced through Heller's 68 offices in 49 cities.

To date, Fuji's U.S. outposts have catered mainly to large Japanese and U.S. corporations. With \$6.9 billion of assets in the United States already, Fuji has a subsidiary in New York and representative or branch offices in Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Seattle and San Francisco.

In addition, bankers here noted that if restrictions on interstate banking are lifted, the Heller operations might be converted into a nationwide banking network.

The movement of Japanese manufacturing companies setting up plants in the United States — often to sidestep curbs on Japanese exports — was also a consideration in Fuji's decision.

"Now, with more Japanese companies building factories in many parts of the country," Mr. Hirano explained, "we want to be more geographically balanced to service areas like Tennessee, for example."

Nissan Motors, which is finishing a plant in Smyrna, Tennessee, is one

(Continued on Page 13, Col. 5)

British Steel Calls Stake in U.S. Unlikely

By Bob Hagerty
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Chances that British Steel will buy part of a plant from U.S. Steel are "very slim," said Ian MacGregor, chairman of the British company, said Tuesday.

Mr. MacGregor indicated, however, that talks would continue on the idea which he is believed to be pursuing as a means of providing an outlet for semi-finished steel from Britain.

Officials of the United Steelworkers union in the United States were likely to oppose the plan, he said. Jack Collins, secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers in the Kent area, retorted, "It's obvious Mr. MacGregor is being sent in to sack miners and close pits." The union leader said Mr. MacGregor's reputation for toughness would provoke anger and help union leaders "win the men" in efforts to reverse closings. Earlier this month, British miners had voted against a national strike.

Mr. MacGregor said there would be "no radical changes" from the policies of Norman Siddle, who is to resign as chairman of the coal board in August for health reasons. But Mr. MacGregor warned: "We've got to get our costs back into line."

The Scottish-born executive, a partner in Lazard Frères, New York, declined to comment on the British government's agreement to pay that investment bank £1.5 million (\$2.2 million) during three years in compensation for the loss of his services. The matter is before a court in London.

Even so, Mr. MacGregor said he hoped to resume discussions with U.S. Steel next week.

The 70-year-old executive was meeting with reporters a day after being named chairman of Britain's National Coal Board, effective Sept. 1. He will be charged with reducing its huge losses. He calmly brushed aside charges from union leaders that he plans in "butcher miners" jobs.

He was more forthcoming about the fee that Britain is paying Lazard's for his three-year term at British Steel, which began in mid-1980. London agreed then to pay the bank at least £675,000 and up to £1.8 million for three years of Mr. MacGregor's time.

That investment has paid off itself "several times," he asserted. Reminded that British Steel still suffered from big losses, he said "my competitors" have had even bigger deficits. For the six months ended last Oct. 31, British Steel reported an operating loss of £154 million, compared with a year-earlier deficit of £208 million.

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BUSINESS BRIEFS**80 Banks File Papers Seeking Compensation From Ambrosiano**

ROME (Reuters) — Italian lawyers for 80 foreign banks seeking a total of \$300 million in compensation for debts owed by Banco Ambrosiano holding in Luxembourg filed papers seeking the sooner from Nuovo Banco Ambrosiano in Milan, the lawyers said Tuesday.

The initial hearing is set for June 15 before the Court of Milan, a spokesman of the Grizzalini law firm in Rome said.

The creditor banks are basing their case on Italian banking law, arguing that the liquidated Banco Ambrosiano was responsible for the debts of its Luxembourg subsidiary, and that this responsibility passed to Nuovo Banco Ambrosiano.

Chrysler Issues 26 Million Shares

DETROIT (AP) — Chrysler Corp. issued 26 million common shares Tuesday in a complex deal intended to eliminate about \$1.1 billion in preferred shares now held by Chrysler's creditors. The offer was quickly sold out.

The stock, sold to the public at Monday's Chrysler closing price of \$16.25 a share, raised about \$432 million as part of Chrysler's recapitalization.

The proceeds from the sale and about 10 million new Chrysler common shares will be given to Chrysler's creditors in mid-May in exchange for \$1.1 billion in face value of preferred shares and 10.6 million warrants, the No. 3 U.S. automaker said.

The shares are being sold before a May 5 stockholders' meeting, where the recapitalization will be put to a vote. If the plan fails, the proceeds of the stock sale would go directly to Chrysler. The creditors would retain the preferred shares and warrants they received in 1980 as part of the Chrysler bailout.

French, Japanese Get Order

TOKYO (Reuters) — A French-Japanese consortium of three companies has won an \$8-billion-yen (\$333-million) order from the National Electricity Board of Malaysia for a 900-megawatt power plant to be built at Paka, Tenggarong state, by December 1985, Toshiba Corp. said Tuesday.

The consortium consists of Toshiba, Mitsui & Co. of Japan and Alstom-Atlantique of France.

Baldwin-United Gets Extension

NEW YORK (NYT) — Financially troubled Baldwin-United Corp. said its banks had agreed at the last minute to a one-week extension of \$40 million in debt payments that had been due Monday.

The financial-services company also announced Monday afternoon that its 1982 earnings would be "substantially less" than the \$125 million to \$130 million previously estimated. For the first nine months of last year, Baldwin-United had reported profits of \$90.5 million. It has not yet reported fourth-quarter results, which it said would include a restatement of earnings for the first nine months.

Baldwin-United also said that the one-week extension for the debt payment would give the creditors an opportunity to examine the company's books to determine whether the company's finances justified a further extension.

Some U.K. Takeovers Cleared

LONDON (Reuters) — The Trade Department on Tuesday cleared Standard Telephone and Cables' purchase of International Aeradio from state-owned British Airways. The department said the purchase would not be referred to the Monopolies Commission.

It also cleared Rank Organisation's acquisition of Humphries Electronics, and Lin Pac Container's purchase of some assets from Arthur Guinness Sons & Co.

The Trade Department also cleared Booker McConnell Co.'s purchase of Ileco Co. and the merger of Hartalite Oil G.B. and Hamco International Corp.

EC Levies Steel-Dumping Duties

BRUSSELS (Reuters) — The European Community Commission Monday announced the imposition of provisional anti-dumping duties against steel imports from Argentina, Brazil, Canada and Venezuela.

The commission said that imports from these four countries of iron or steel rods for fulfilling rose to take 5.5 percent of the EC market last year up from 1.1 percent in 1981.

The commission said the imports were undercutting community prices by up to 25 percent.

Stern Free of £143-Million Debt

LONDON (UPI) — William Stern, a British property developer, has been cleared of debts totaling £143 million (\$214.7 million) in return for a payment of £500,000 over three years.

But the High Court judge hearing the case Monday suspended Mr. Stern's discharge from bankruptcy for two years, saying that he was "not prepared to find that it would be wise to release Mr. Stern on the balance of probabilities."

The judge, Sir Raymond Walker, granted the discharge from bankruptcy after major creditors that were owed a total of £60 million had withdrawn their objections.

U.S. Says Deficit In Trade Rose

United Press International

WASHINGTON — The U.S. merchandise trade deficit was \$3.58 billion in February, only slightly worse than in January, as exports to Mexico strengthened while oil imports dropped sharply, the government said Tuesday.

Because of improving exports and shrinking purchases of oil and other imports, the Commerce Department Tuesday lowered its 1983 deficit projection by about \$10 billion. The new forecast called for a merchandise trade deficit this year no higher than \$60 billion, still a record but not as bad as feared just a month ago.

The \$50 billion-to-\$60 billion deficit range is considerably less than the initial projections last year of as much as \$80 billion.

In January the trade deficit was a revised \$3.57 billion, the smallest in six months.

Despite the lower cost of oil, most analysts still expect demand for imports to eventually grow in the United States along with economic recovery and for exports to continue to erode.

Imports in February were \$19.9 billion, down 5 percent from January and 6.3 percent below the

government said Tuesday.

Reuters

PARIS — French retail prices rose 0.7 percent in February after increases of 0.9 percent in both January and December, the government said Tuesday.

French Retail Prices Rise

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U.S. Aide Lauds Efforts by Peru Concerning Debt

United Press International

WALL STREET — R. Timothy McNamara, U.S. Treasury undersecretary, said that Peru would be able to "calendar" foreign-debt payments but that a return to sound financial footing could take months.

■ **Japan Posts Trade Surplus**

Japan exported about \$2.1 billion more than it imported in February, giving February a trade surplus after a deficit in January, the Finance Ministry said Tuesday. United Press International reported from Tokyo.

The ministry said exports were slightly more than \$11 billion, off 4.5 percent from February 1982, but that imports fell at a faster rate, dropping 13.5 percent to \$8.9 billion.

A ministry spokesman said that increased exports of steel, ships and tape recorders accounted for most of the export revenues.

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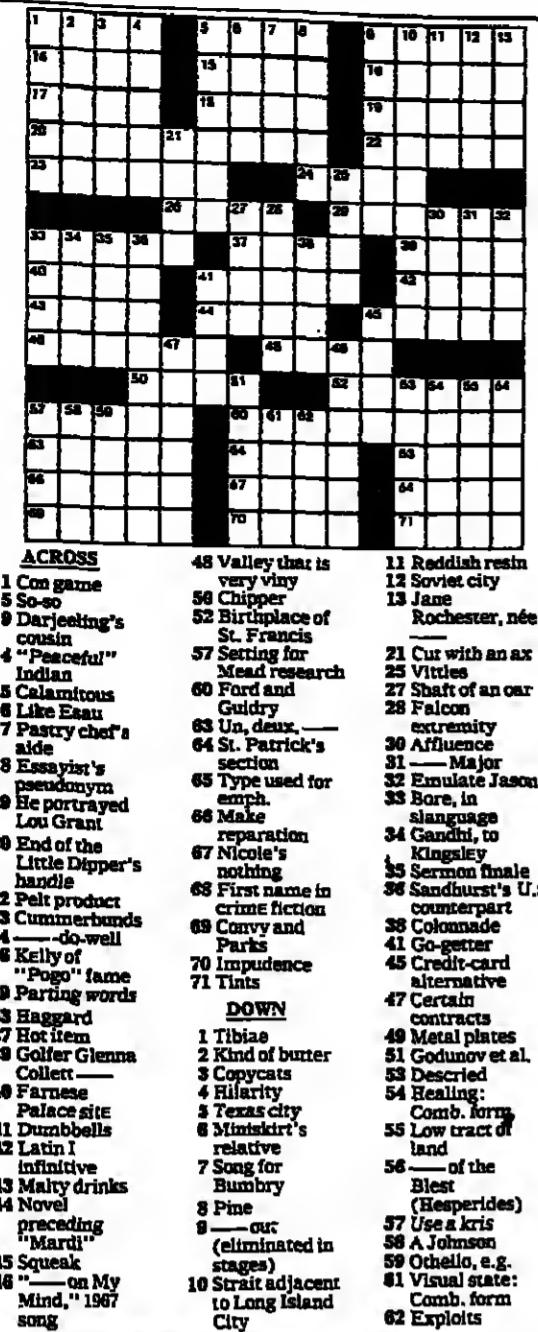
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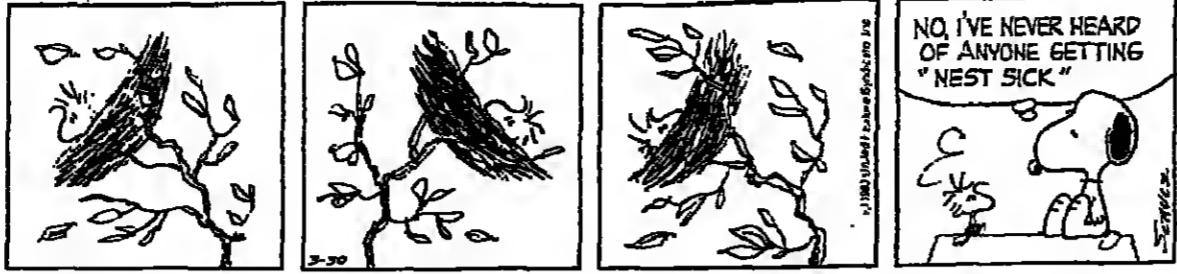
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CROSSWORD



PEANUTS



BLONDIE



BEETLE BAILEY



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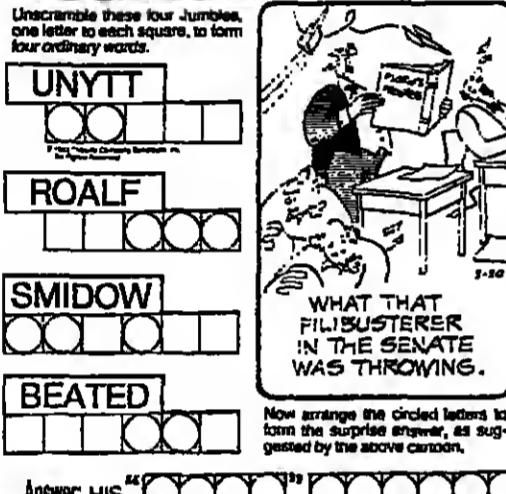
WIZARD OF ID



JUMBLE

THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME

by Henri Arnold and Bob Lee



Answer: HIS

(Answers tomorrow)

Yesterday's Jumble: PLUME KAPOK IMPEDE SCHOOL
Answer: What the lumbi soul finally did when his bicycle wheel collapsed — "SPONE" UP

DENNIS THE MENACE



"I GUESS HE PUTS 'EM THERE SO THE BUGS WILL KNOW WHAT THEY'RE EATING."

WEATHER

EUROPE

	HIGH	LOW	C°	F°	C°	F°
Aberdeen	52	42	10	50	10	50
Amsterdam	55	45	13	59	13	59
Amsterode	55	45	13	59	13	59
Berlin	55	45	13	59	13	59
Brest	55	45	13	59	13	59
Bucharest	55	45	13	59	13	59
Budapest	55	45	13	59	13	59
Brussels	55	45	13	59	13	59
Calais	55	45	13	59	13	59
Costa Del Sol	55	45	13	59	13	59
Dublin	55	45	13	59	13	59
Edinburgh	55	45	13	59	13	59
Florence	55	45	13	59	13	59
Geneva	55	45	13	59	13	59
Helsinki	55	45	13	59	13	59
Istanbul	55	45	13	59	13	59
London	55	45	13	59	13	59
Milan	55	45	13	59	13	59
Moscow	55	45	13	59	13	59
Nice	55	45	13	59	13	59
Paris	55	45	13	59	13	59
Prague	55	45	13	59	13	59
Rome	55	45	13	59	13	59
Stockholm	55	45	13	59	13	59
Venice	55	45	13	59	13	59
Vienna	55	45	13	59	13	59
Warsaw	55	45	13	59	13	59
Zurich	55	45	13	59	13	59

MIDDLE EAST

	72	72	72	72	72	72
Abu Dhabi	72	72	72	72	72	72
Damascus	72	72	72	72	72	72
Jerusalem	72	72	72	72	72	72
Tel Aviv	72	72	72	72	72	72

OCEANIA

	52	52	52	52	52	52
Auckland	52	52	52	52	52	52
Sydney	52	52	52	52	52	52

c—cloudy; fo—foggy; h—hazy; o—overcast; p—partly cloudy;

r—rain; sh—showers; sn—snow; st—storms.

Tuesday's FORECAST: CHANNEL 4: Very rough FRANKFURT: Rainy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23° NEW YORK: Partly cloudy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23° PARIS: Morning showers, then fair, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23° TEL AVIV: Partly cloudy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23° ZURICH: Rainy.

Wednesday's FORECAST: CHANNEL 4: Rainy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23° TEL AVIV: Partly cloudy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23°

Thursday's FORECAST: CHANNEL 4: Rainy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23° TEL AVIV: Partly cloudy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23°

Friday's FORECAST: CHANNEL 4: Rainy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23° TEL AVIV: Partly cloudy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23°

Saturday's FORECAST: CHANNEL 4: Rainy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23° TEL AVIV: Partly cloudy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23°

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Wednesday's FORECAST: CHANNEL 4: Rainy, Temp. 15°—19°—21°—23° TEL AVIV: Partly cloudy, Temp. 15

SPORTS

over: Once More, With Feeling

By Thomas Boswell

Washington Post Service

PIETERSBURG, Florida — Pitchers have a fraternal bond that often outweighs a lot of other considerations. I don't know how capricious than jobs can be, how senseless by the twin threads of injury and in-

jury in a muscle, one unconscious change in form or second-nature skill can become difficult or impossible.

Tom Seaver understands this pitcher's nightmare, the future Hall of Famer, who's returned to the New York Mets to finish his career, knowing about health and life. But last year he learned how one small ill can make that leads to another — until finally those tiny ills in his mind, causing fits of anxiety.

Finally, they infect the psyche, confuse the muscle and throw the body's coordination out of kilter. Great pitchers have to sweat and ask: "Why do you throw a baseball?"

Seaver stood in the batter's box at Al Lang Field here last week. He looked at the mound and saw this: the equivalent of delirium tremens in its most vir-

ulent form. Mark Fidrych in what looked like the terminal stages of cancer degeneration. Fidrych, the child whose

face was a mask of fear, the terror of cancer degeneration.

But Seaver has raised eyebrows and hopes.

In his first two games, Seaver allowed seven runs in eight innings. Then, last week against the Red Sox, he turned a corner: He allowed only five hits over seven shutout innings.

Again such formidable batters as Dwight Evans, Jim Rice and Tony Armas, he was comfortably in command.

"I did some things right," he said after that outing. "I progressed. I had decent control, mixed my pitches well, popped a couple of fastballs early."

"The way I'd been throwing down here, I didn't think I'd be able to throw it by anyone. Physically, I'm fine. I'm very pleased. It's a step for me.... I'd be happy with 15" victories in 1983." If I pitch like I did today, I might make it."

Had he thrown as hard as he once did?

"Today, I threw as hard as ever," said Seaver. "But the ball just didn't get to the plate as fast."

Said Met Manager George Bamberger: "I have no idea what he had wrong with him last year. All I know is he's thrown the ball pretty good. I just hope people in New York aren't expecting him to win 20 or 22 games. That's not complete games this year.... Sooner or later age gets you."

This season, Seaver has added a blooper curve and in general is trying to make the transition from a power pitcher to finesse pitcher. From the first three or four pitches, the first few hitters you tell by their reactions what you've going for you that day," says Seaver.

"I can't trust myself warming up... or trust my eye. The hitters tell me what's working and what isn't."

What if a reasonable facsimile of the old Seaver heater isn't available? "You pitch, you pitch.... I wouldn't say the game is more exciting to me than it used to be, but it's probably more interesting because it's more complex."

Seaver, with a 264-156 career record, says he only has one remaining personal goal: 300 victories. Complicating his quest is the Met team that lost 97 games last year and may be the worst since Casey Stengel inquired, "Can't anybody here play this game?"

The new Mets have an anticharm that's the opposite from that of the original Mets. Dave Kingman, the legendary

high-improved Seaver caught a mysterious flu that sent him for months. His legs wobbly, he pulled a muscle.

Trying to compensate for aches and age, Seaver became a liability to Tom Seaver. By Aug. 15 he'd given up the lead. After going 14-2 in 1981, the Seaver of 1982 had a 13-13 record. He'd 5.50 earned-run average had no complete games and had given up 136 hits in 111 innings — all the career marks of a washed-up pitcher.

Now Seaver's market value was almost nil. Cincinnati traded him with the rest of the team to the Mets.

Asked if he wished that he go home to expire, "The Reds had a slide year... 101 losses" — "and I contributed more than 100 to that," says Seaver.

At 38, Seaver is still a useful pitcher. He's got a 15-10 record this year, with 10 wins and 10 losses.

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